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American Civil War Commanders (3)

Union Leaders in the West



Philip Katcher • Illustrated by Richard Hook



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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

- The Western theater of war
- Staffs

3

BIOGRAPHIES

- Nathaniel Prentiss BANKS
- Francis Preston BLAIRM Jr
- Don Carlos BUELL
- Edward Richard Sprigg CANBY
- Samuel Ryan CURTIS
- Jefferson Columbus DAVIS
- John Charles FRÉMONT
- Ulysses Simpson GRANT
- Benjamin Henry GRIERSON
- Henry Wagner HALLECK
- Oliver Otis HOWARD
- Hugh Judson KILPATRICK
- John Alexander LOGAN
- John Alexander McCLERNAND
- James Birdseye McPHERSON
- Edward Otho Cresap ORD
- Peter Joseph OSTERHAUS
- William Starke ROSECRANS
- John McAllister SCHOFIELD
- William Tecumseh SHERMAN
- Henry Warner SLOCUM
- Alpheus Starkey WILLIAMS
- James Harrison WILSON

4

THE PLATES

33

INDEX

48

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Series editor Martin Windrow

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Author's Note

For reasons of space it seems appropriate to divide the commanders covered in these two volumes (Elite 73 and the present title) between the "Eastern" and "Western" theaters of war, according to their first, most important, or best-known operations. Inevitably, given the movement of some generals between the theaters, this has worked more neatly in some cases than in others, whose placing in one or other title has necessarily been somewhat arbitrary. Readers should regard the two books together as a single reference source.

As in the previous book in this series (Elite 88, *American Civil War Commanders (2) Confederate Leaders in the East*), it should perhaps be emphasized that there is obviously no space in this format for more than the most basic notes on the careers of some of the giants of the war like Lee, Jackson, Grant and Sherman. The author has tried to give a flavor of their characters and appearance through the words of those who knew them, but for any serious analysis of their command service the reader is directed to the existing substantial biographies.

While American conventions of spelling and punctuation have been used throughout this text, readers will notice historical variations in passages directly quoted from writings of the period.

Acknowledgements

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AMERICAN CIVIL WAR COMMANDERS (3) UNION LEADERS IN THE WEST

INTRODUCTION

THE SO-CALLED WESTERN THEATER of the Civil War, which actually covers everything from Kentucky and Tennessee all the way to New Mexico, produced the Union Army's best generals. One advantage they enjoyed was that most of the media was in the East and concentrated on military activities along the Atlantic seaboard. Consequently Western generals often had time to develop their talents free from close public scrutiny. Minor setbacks such as the battle of Belmont, where Grant bled his troops and staff for the first time, were not magnified by the press into the 'important' tests that made or broke Eastern generals' reputations before they had a chance to develop.

Most of the major Union generals in the West had been trained as professional soldiers at the US Military Academy at West Point, New York, although – like their colleagues elsewhere – none had ever before exercised senior command in the field. They included, however, a handful of political leaders appointed to positions of command by the

William T. Sherman – seated in carved chair, center – who exercised overall Union command in the Western theater in 1864–65, with six of his subordinate generals. From left to right: Oliver O. Howard, John A. Logan, William B. Hazen; Jefferson C. Davis, Henry W. Slocum, and J.A. Mower. (Battles and Leaders of the Civil War)



Lincoln administration in order to show the American public that the war had broad-based political support from all the parties. At times these appointees – such as Francis Blair and “Black Jack” Logan – performed well. Other political generals – such as Nathaniel Prentiss Banks – were incapable of leading a detail on a latrine-cleaning operation. All too often professional and political generals did not get along together at all well, much to the detriment of the war effort.

Generals supervised their commands through their staffs. These staffs were considerably smaller than later armies would regard as the necessary minimum. According to one of Grant’s staff officers, Horace Porter, only 14 men made up Grant’s staff when he was overall commander of the Union Army. These comprised Brig.Gen. John A. Rawlins as chief-of-staff; four lieutenant-colonels as aides-de-camp (including Grant’s brother-in-law); two lieutenant-colonels serving as military secretaries; a lieutenant-colonel as assistant adjutant general, backed by two captains (one of them the full-blooded Native-American Eli S. Parker); a lieutenant-colonel as assistant inspector general; a captain as assistant quartermaster; and a lieutenant to act as aide-de-camp to the chief-of-staff. Finally, a volunteer from Iowa named Peter T. Hudson, who had served with Grant early on, was retained and given the rank of captain. With appropriately lower ranks for the staff officers, this was the basic structure found among the staffs of lower level commands.

One of Sherman’s staff officers, George Ward Nichols, recalled: “His staff is smaller than that of any brigade commander in the army. He has fewer servants and horses than the military regulations allow; his baggage is reduced to the smallest possible limit; he sleeps in a fly-tent like the rest of us, rejecting the effeminacy of a house; and the soldier in the ranks indulges in luxuries (the fruits of some daring forage raid, to be sure) which his chief never sees.”

BIOGRAPHIES

BANKS, Nathaniel Prentiss (1816-94)

Nathaniel P. Banks (see Plate B1) was born at Waltham, Massachusetts, on 30 January 1816. From a poor family, he had to go to work as a child at a cotton mill – which later gave rise to his nickname, “The Bobbin Boy of Massachusetts.” Although he received little in the way of formal education, he managed to learn enough to be admitted to the bar when he was 23 years old. Thereafter he pursued a political career. He ran for the Massachusetts Legislature seven times before finally winning election to that body. Once there, however, his career was brilliant: he became the speaker of the house, president of the Constitutional Convention in 1853, and was elected to the US House of Representatives ten times. In 1856 he was elected speaker of the House of Representatives after a long and bitter campaign in which he stood for the moderate position on issues such as slavery. In 1858 he was elected governor of Massachusetts.

In 1861 Lincoln, needing to have influential Democratic Party representatives involved in the suppression of the rebellion, asked Banks to accept a commission of major-general of volunteers. Banks, who lacked any military qualifications but had been an important supporter of the Lincoln administration’s war policy in his state, accepted. As it turned

out, this was probably a mistake. Banks proved to be a poor soldier, although he was continually given independent commands. He had a separate command in the Valley of Virginia in 1862, where he was conspicuously outgeneraled by "Stonewall" Jackson. Although he came close to beating Jackson at Cedar Mountain in August 1862, eventually his command was routed there. When he left, John Geary, one of his officers, who at first felt badly used by Banks, wrote home, "I had a liking for Genl B. and in that respect I regret the change, but this must be 'inter nos.'"

Thereafter Banks was sent West to command in Louisiana. He was assigned the job of capturing Port Hudson, where he wasted many Northern lives in useless attempts to force the Confederate fortifications. After the fall of Vicksburg, Port Hudson, having stood off the longest siege ever fought on American soil, was forced to surrender anyway.

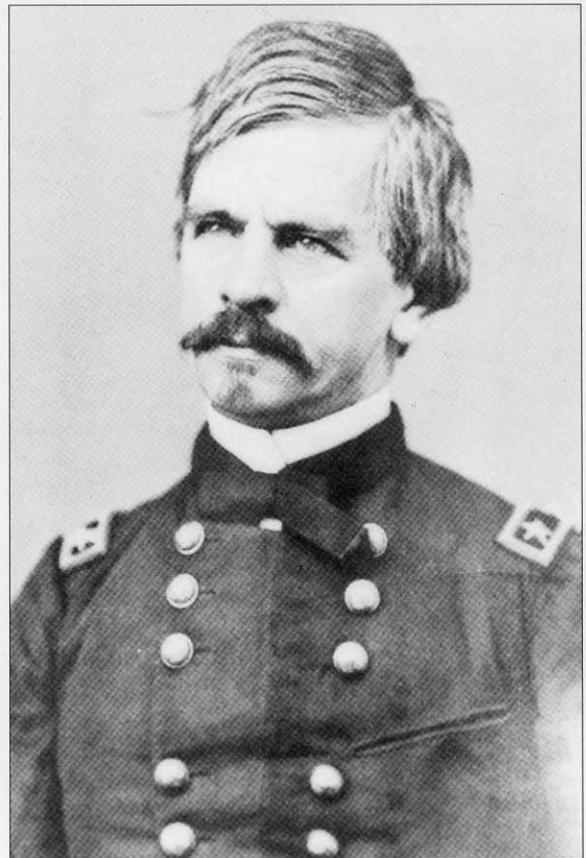
Banks then led a campaign along the Red River from Louisiana, ostensibly to capture East Texas but probably as much to capture valuable cotton that could be sold for a large profit to hungry mills in the North. A junior officer in his command in Louisiana in 1864, John William De Forest, noted that, "The truth is that Banks was the most merciless marcher of men that I ever knew." He noted that during the Red River campaign the soldiers struggling along under a blistering sun were "muttering curses against Banks and the Confederates – those two enemies."

The Red River campaign was a total failure and Banks narrowly escaped with his army intact. At that point, Henry Halleck wrote, "Banks is not competent...." This was the consensus of opinion in Washington, but because of his political stature Banks was not mustered out of service until August 1865, although he was never placed in command of an "independent expedition against the enemy after the Red River campaign. "The truth is Banks is not a soldier," Sherman wrote after the Red River, "he is too intent on reconstruction [of the South after the war]."

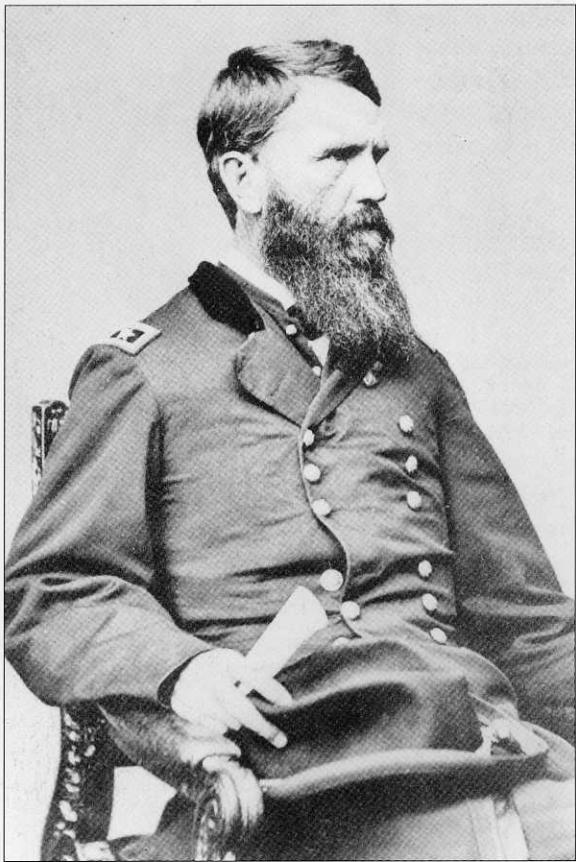
Returning to Massachusetts, Banks was quickly returned to Congress, serving five consecutive terms. He also served a term in the Massachusetts Senate, and spent nine years as United States marshal for Massachusetts. He retired after his fifth Congressional term to Waltham, dying there on 1 September 1894. He is buried in Grove Hill Cemetery.

BLAIR, Francis Preston, Jr (1821-75)

The brother of Lincoln's first postmaster general, Francis P. Blair (see Plate H3) was born on 19 February 1821 in Lexington, Kentucky, to a politically important family. A Princeton University graduate, he studied law at Transylvania University in Kentucky before going on to practice in partnership with his brother in St Louis in 1842. Appointed attorney



Nathaniel Prentiss Banks.
Note the pocket cut into the left breast of the major-general's frock coat – a typical personal modification – and the large black bow tie worn outside the collar. (Military Images magazine)



Francis Preston Blair, Jr, another political general, but one who earned Grant's praise. George W.Nichols, a member of Sherman's staff, described Blair as "one of the most hospitable and popular men of the army... . The General wears a full sandy beard and mustache, which conceal the lower part of his face. His eyes are of a light hazel color, full of humor and good nature – an expression, however, that is somewhat qualified by the overhanging brow, which has a *noli me tangere* air ['let no man touch me'], as much as to say, "If I must fight, it shall be war to the hilt... . In height [he] is about five feet eleven inches. His frame is finely proportioned and he makes a good appearance on horseback." (Military Images)

general of the New Mexico Territory at the outbreak of the Mexican War, he later returned to Missouri and a career in politics. He was elected to Congress in 1856 and 1860 on the ticket of the Free-Soil Party, a Union party in that slave state. His formation of Missouri Home Guards and Wide Awakes was vital in saving Missouri for the Union. As a result, Blair was offered a brigadier-general's commission, but declined it to serve as Chairman of the Committee on Military Defense in the 37th Congress. Finally, on 7 August 1861, he accepted a brigadier-general's commission, and promotion to major-general on 29 November.

Grant later recalled: "General F.P.Blair joined me at Milliken's Bend a full-fledged general, without having served in a lower grade. He commanded a division in the campaign. I had known Blair in Missouri, where I voted against him in 1858 when he ran for Congress. I knew him as a frank, positive and generous man, true to his friends even to a fault, but always a leader. I dreaded his coming; I knew from experience that it was more difficult to command two generals desiring to be generals than it was to command one army officered intelligently and with subordination. It affords me the greatest pleasure to record now my agreeable disappointment in

respect to his character. There was no man braver than he, nor was there any who obeyed all orders of his superior in rank with more unquestioning alacrity. He was one man as a soldier, another as a politician."

Blair served as a brigade commander during the Vicksburg campaign, and thereafter as commander of XV and XVII Corps during the March to the Sea (November–December 1864) and the March through the Carolinas (February–March 1865). George W.Nichols, of Sherman's staff, noted that Blair's corps was the first to reach Savannah, Blair himself at the head of the corps: "One who had never seen General Blair except in the field as a corps commander would find it difficult to realize that he has occupied so prominent a position in the political arena; for, while it may not be said that he is a born soldier, yet he possesses in a marked degree many of the qualities which constitute a good commander.... Under all circumstances he never loses that perfect coolness and self-command which render him master of the situation and inspire the confidence of the soldiers. This imperturbability never deserts him.... He selects excellent horses, and knows how to ride them. In the army he has the reputation of a kind, generous, discreet, and brave soldier."

Blair resigned from the army in November 1865 and devoted his energy to a cotton plantation in Mississippi. After this venture failed, he returned to Missouri as a moderate politician. As such his nominations to important positions by President Andrew Johnson were rejected by



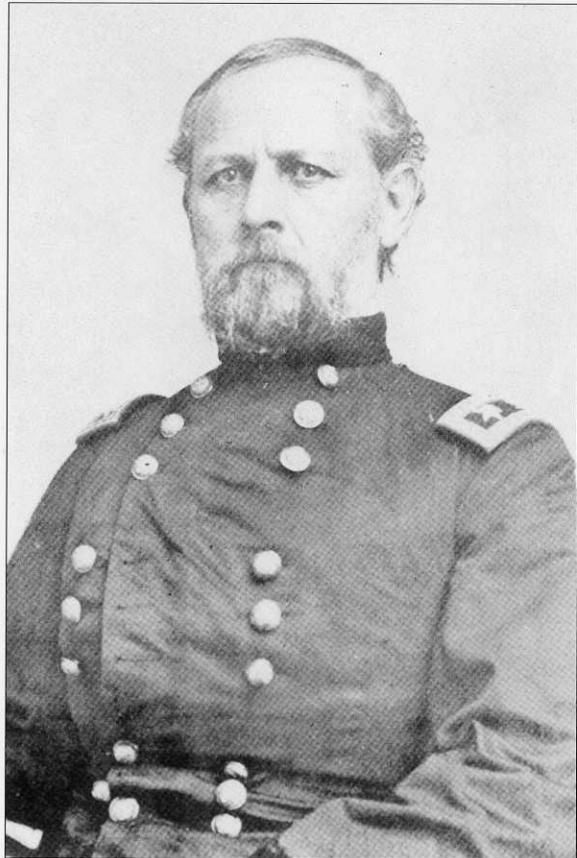
Blair with his staff officers.
Although Sherman termed Blair a "disturbing element" in the army at Vicksburg in March 1863, adding, "I wish he was in Congress or a Bar Room, anywhere but our Army," he nevertheless entrusted him with a senior corps command during the "March to the Sea" eighteen months later. (Military Images)

the radical Republican majority of the US Senate. He ran for vice-president in 1868, but the ticket was defeated. Finally named a US Senator in 1871 to fill a vacant position, Blair resigned in 1873 because of poor health. He died in St Louis on 8 July 1875, and is buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery in that city.

BUELL, Don Carlos (1818-98)

Don Carlos Buell (see Plate C2) was born on 23 March 1818 in Ohio, but spent most of his childhood at an uncle's home in Lawrenceburg, Indiana. Appointed to West Point, he was graduated 32nd of 44 in the class of 1841, behind Josiah Gorgas – who would become head of the Confederacy's ordnance efforts. After graduation Buell was posted to the 3rd US Infantry in Florida. He went on to serve in the Mexican War (1846-48), being promoted to first lieutenant on 18 June 1846. He was breveted captain that September "for meritorious conduct during the several conflicts at Monterey." Buell was badly wounded on 20 August 1847 at Churubusco, and was breveted major for his behaviour there and at Contreras. He was named his regimental adjutant on 15 February 1847, being assigned to the overall army staff as an assistant adjutant general on 25 January 1848.

After the Mexican War he remained a staff officer, serving at various departments in the West and East. He was appointed a lieutenant-colonel and assistant adjutant general in the Department of the Pacific just before the Civil War broke out. Buell was married to a native of Georgia and at one point owned eight slaves; despite this, he remained



Don Carlos Buell as a major-general. His fellow general John Pope wrote of him: "He was a short, square man, with an immense physique and personal strength. He was very erect, had a dark impressive face and black eyes and from something in his bearing and general appearance always gave the impression that he was a much taller and larger man than he really was...." (Military Images)

loyal to the Union. Returning to Washington, he was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers on 17 May 1861.

Picked to lead the Army of the Ohio into East Tennessee from Kentucky, Buell wanted to advance via the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers to Nashville rather than moving through Louisville and Knoxville. Despite opposition from the administration, which was concerned about the political situation in eastern Tennessee, he was given approval to do this, and after the fall of Forts Donelson and Henry he took Nashville without a fight.

As it turned out, Buell was not a great success as a commander of volunteer soldiers. An able administrator, he lacked the ability to motivate volunteers, treating them as brusquely as if they were professional soldiers. "I have frequently felt that had he visited his camps more, reviewed his troops more, and shown himself more to his soldiers, a different state of feeling would have existed," noted one of his subordinates, Alexander McCook, in December 1862.

Buell also insisted on strictly upholding the property rights of local civilians, returning slaves to their owners and forbidding his men to forage. At first his troops, who were mostly pro-slavery, agreed with this; but as time wore on and they

saw first-hand the disloyalty among slave-holders, they yearned for a harder policy against pro-Southerners. Buell's army became divided between those in favor of a "soft" and a "hard war". Among the latter was Lucius Barber, 15th Illinois Infantry, who called Buell "an imbecile General... [who] allowed the invaders to carry fire, sword and famine in their track and go unpunished."

When he marched to join Grant's army at Pittsburgh Landing, Buell's lucky arrival while Grant's forces were under attack in the battle of Shiloh turned the tide and secured a Union victory. His troops then served in the slow march on Corinth. Promoted to major-general on 22 March 1862, he was ordered to move on Chattanooga with four divisions in June. His advance was forced back when Confederate raiders under John Hunt Morgan broke up his supply route to Louisville. Buell then returned to Kentucky to oppose a Confederate invasion of the state. When Confederate commander Braxton Bragg failed to take Louisville, Buell did, breaking up Confederate invasion plans. Despite this, Halleck was unhappy with Buell and decided to replace him with George Thomas. Buell was so notified on 29 September 1862; however, Thomas declined the appointment, telling Halleck that Buell was about to move against Bragg and that a replacement at that moment would be untimely. Unfortunately word of the potential replacement spread through the Army of the Ohio, further weakening Buell's authority.

Buell and his troops left Louisville on 1 October, heading after Bragg's army. The two sides finally clashed indecisively at Perryville on

the 8th; Bragg gave up the field and retreated, but Buell failed to follow up this opportunity. Buell's own troops were as angry about this as were officials in Washington; Major James Connolly was typical, writing in a letter home: "If Buell had done what he might well have done at Perryville, he would have captured the bulk of Bragg's army, and even after the battle, had he used ordinary expedition he might have destroyed it. But, as he says, the battle was not according to his programme, and therefore he chose not to gather the fruits of it."

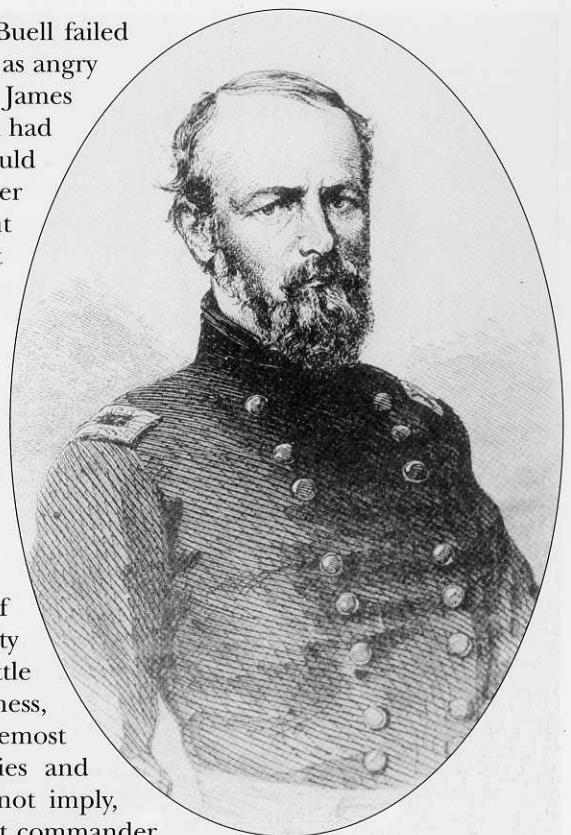
Buell was relieved from command on 24 October and was replaced by Rosecrans. A military commission investigated his actions after Perryville that November, but made no recommendations. Buell awaited orders for over a year, but none were forthcoming, and as a result he was mustered out of the volunteer service in May 1864 and resigned his regular commission on the first of the following month.

John Pope summed up Buell thus: "Certainly if a man's military capability is to be judged by his ability to organize troops and present them on the field of battle in the highest condition of discipline and effectiveness, General Buell may well be reckoned among the foremost generals of the war; but unfortunately the qualities and qualifications needed to accomplish this result do not imply, necessarily, or even probably, the requisites for a great commander in the field..."

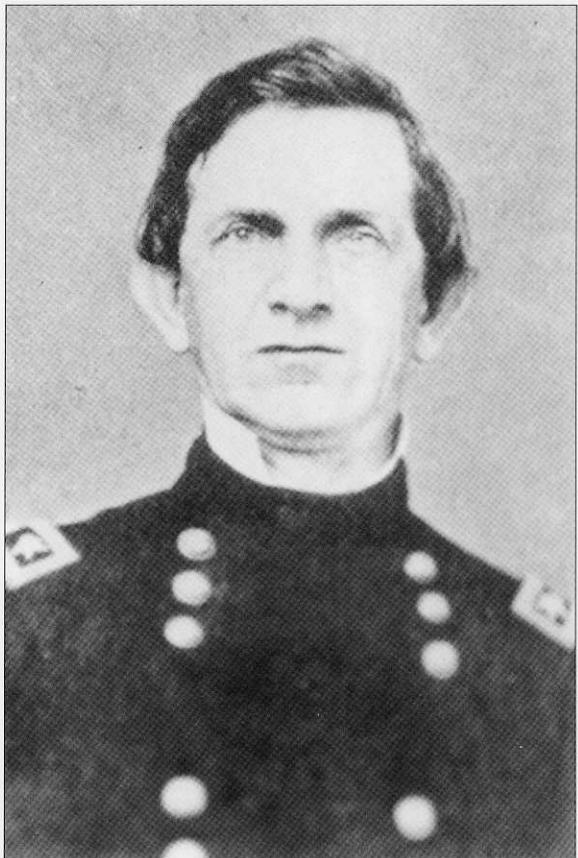
"He was in no respect social in his habits, but appeared always to be self-absorbed. He was extremely reserved in his demeanor and very silent and reticent, if not at times forbidding, in his manners.... He was a student always. I do not mean a student in the college sense, but a steady and close reader of history and books on military subjects and was probably as well posted on military subjects as almost any officer in the army.... He was a man of tremendous passion, which he with evident difficulty kept under control, but his passions were of a generous and manly character and had no quality of vice or meanness. He was... a pure, upright and most honorable man, capable of great things and the victim rather than the author of the misfortunes which overtook him."

Grant later wrote: "General Buell was a brave, intelligent officer, with as much professional pride and ambition of a commendable sort as I ever knew.... He was not given in early life or in mature years to forming intimate acquaintances. He was studious by habit, and commanded the confidence and respect of all who knew him. He was a strict disciplinarian, and perhaps did not distinguish sufficiently between the volunteer who 'enlisted for the war' and the soldier who serves in time of peace.... General Buell became an object of harsh criticism later, some going so far as to challenge his loyalty. No one who knew him ever believed him capable of a dishonorable act, and nothing could be more dishonorable than to accept high rank and command in war and then betray the trust."

Grant wanted Buell restored to duty, perhaps partially in thanks for his actions at Shiloh, but this did not happen. Buell took a position running



Buell as depicted in the 11 January 1862 issue of *Harper's Weekly*. As so often in these woodcuts, the image has been reversed from left to right – note that the coat is buttoned in the wrong direction, and the hair is parted on the right rather than the left as shown in the photograph.



Edward Canby, who would later be one of the very few senior officers to be killed during the Indian Wars. (Military Images)

an ironworks and coal mill at Airdrie, Kentucky; he also served for four years as a government pension agent. He died at Airdrie on 19 November 1898, and is buried in the Bellefontaine Cemetery, St Louis.

CANBY, Edward Richard Sprigg (1817-73)

Edward R.S. Canby (see **Plate C3**) was born at Piatt's Landing, Kentucky, on 9 November 1817. He attended local schools before going to Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana. He was then appointed to West Point, from where he was graduated 30th – next to the bottom – of the class of 1839, the same year as Henry Halleck. As a second lieutenant in the 2nd Infantry he saw service against the Seminoles, Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws. In the Mexican War (1846-48) he served on a brigade staff but still received brevets to captain and major for his actions at Contreras and Churubusco, and a lieutenant-colonel's brevet for gallant conduct at the Belen Gate, Mexico City, in 1847. Canby became a major in the 10th Infantry in 1855; he was named colonel of the new 19th Infantry on 14 May 1861, and given command of the Department of New Mexico.

Canby's department had little in the way of troops or supplies, being considered a backwater

of the war. Nonetheless the Confederates invaded his domain, on what they planned to be their way to the silver mines of Colorado and the gold mines of California, in January 1862. His outnumbered troops fell back from Valverde, destroying resources upon whose capture the Confederate plan depended. Finally, reinforced by Colorado volunteers, he met the Confederates at Glorieta (called "the Gettysburg of the West"), and destroyed their supplies. The Confederates were forced to fall back all the way to Texas; Canby followed them, not needing to fight again since nature itself was going against them.

On 23 May 1862 he was named a brigadier-general of volunteers and sent East to serve largely in staff functions, although he did take command at New York City during the draft riots of July 1863. He was named major-general of volunteers on 7 May 1864, and given command of the Military Division of West Mississippi. He reorganized the army which had suffered so much under Banks in the Red River campaign, and began the capture of Mobile, Alabama. Mobile surrendered to his forces on 12 April 1865; Canby then accepted the surrender of the forces under Gen Richard Taylor, one of the last large Confederate armies in the field.

In 1866 Canby was named a regular army brigadier-general. In 1870 he was given command of the Department of Columbia, and three years later of the Division of the Pacific. It was on 11 April 1873, in the lava beds of northern California, while negotiating with the Modoc Indians for their removal, that he was suddenly shot through the head and

stabbed by several of the Native-American negotiators, including their chief "Captain Jack". Canby was killed on the spot; his body was buried in Crown Hill Cemetery, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Grant later recalled that "General Canby was an officer of great merit. He was naturally studious, and inclined to the law. There have been in the army but very few, if any, officers who took as much interest in reading and digesting every act of Congress and every regulation for the government of the army as he. His knowledge gained in this way made him a most valuable staff officer, a capacity in which almost all his army services were rendered up to the time of his being assigned to the Military Division of the Gulf. He was an exceedingly modest officer, though of great talent and learning.... His character was as pure as his talent and learning were great. His services were valuable during the war, but principally as a bureau officer. I have no idea that it was from choice that his services were rendered in an office, but because of his superior efficiency there."

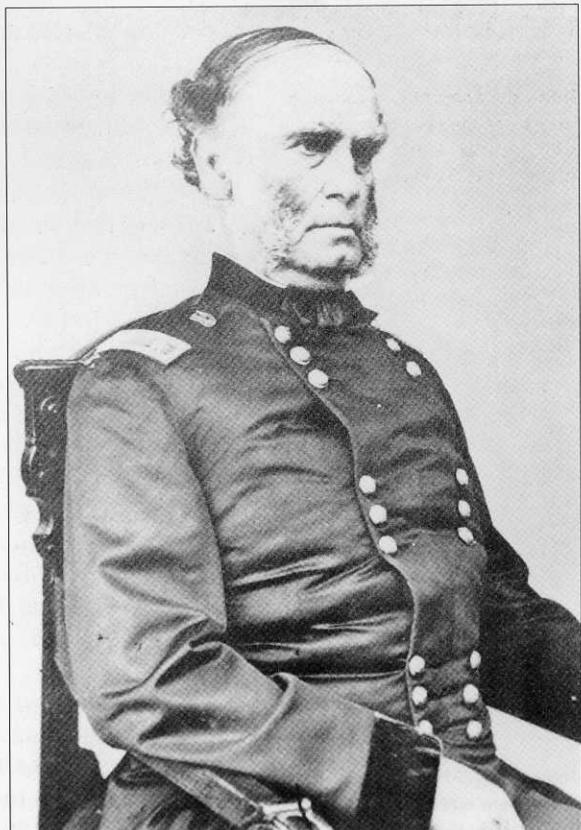
CURTIS, Samuel Ryan (1805-66)

Samuel R.Curtis (see Plate A1) was born in Clinton County, New York, on 3 February 1805, the son of a Connecticut veteran of the Revolutionary War. Shortly afterwards his family moved to Ohio, from where he was appointed to West Point. Graduated 27th of 33 in the class of 1831, he resigned from the army the following year to return to Ohio, where he worked as a civil engineer. He maintained his military interests, however, joining the Ohio Militia.

When the Mexican War broke out in 1846 Curtis was the adjutant general of Ohio's militia with the rank of colonel. After the state had sent two regiments into the field he accepted command of the 3rd Ohio Volunteers, which was mustered into service in June 1846 and mustered out a year later. It was during the Mexican War that Curtis, despite his West Point education, developed a strong dislike for regular army soldiers and their attitude towards volunteers. He wrote that he was "more mortified than indignant at the unnecessary desire manifested by the regular officers to put regulars forward and make them certain to be the authors of every acceptable movement." Even so he tried to get a regular commission as the war was winding down, but nothing came of his efforts, and he was mustered out with the rest of his volunteers.

On his regiment's discharge he moved to Iowa, where he opened a law office and became the mayor of Keokuk. In 1856 he was elected to the first of his three terms in the US House of Representatives. In 1861 he joined the Union army as colonel of the 2nd Iowa Infantry, and was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers ranking from 17 May 1861. Accepting this commission, he resigned from Congress and was

Samuel Ryan Curtis. An acquaintance described him as "tall, finely though heavily formed, with high forehead, large hazel eyes, decidedly grave face... in demeanor serious, deliberate in speech and action undemonstrative." (Military Images)



assigned to duty at Frémont's headquarters to supervise military activities in and around St Louis. There he served well with fellow volunteers. Brigadier-General Franz Sigel, who saw service in Germany before coming to the United States but never served in the US regular army, recalled: "Before we reached Lebanon I was doubtful about my personal relations to General Curtis, which had been somewhat troubled by his sudden appearance at Rola and the differences in regard to our relative rank and position, but the fairness he showed in the assignment of the commands before we left Lebanon, and his frankness and courtesy toward me, dispelled all apprehensions on my part...."

Curtis was given command of the Union army in Arkansas, holding on there to defeat Confederate Maj.Gen. Earl Van Dorn at the battle of Pea Ridge (7–8 March 1862). As a result he was named a major-general on 21 March, and shortly afterwards was given command of the Department of Missouri. There, however, he disagreed with Governor William Gamble, to the point that in May 1863 he was moved to command the Department of Kansas. From there he was moved further to command the Department of the Northwest. In August 1865, Curtis was named a US Peace Commissioner to negotiate treaties with various Plains Indian tribes, and three months later he was appointed to a commission to study the building of the Union Pacific Railroad, which was being laid down west from Omaha, Nebraska. While doing this work he died at Council Bluffs, Iowa, on 26 December 1866. He is buried in Oakland Cemetery, Keokuk.



Jefferson C. Davis, in a woodcut made from a photograph for Harper's Weekly.

DAVIS, Jefferson Columbus (1828–79)

Jefferson C. Davis (see Plate D3) was born in Indiana on 2 March 1828, and served in the 3rd Indiana Infantry during the Mexican War (1846–48), taking part in the battle of Buena Vista. Obviously a good soldier, he managed to obtain a direct commission as a second lieutenant in the 1st Artillery Regiment on 17 June 1848; in 1852 he was promoted to first lieutenant, and in 1861 to captain. He served in Fort Sumter's garrison during the bombardment, and was thereafter given command of the 22nd Indiana Volunteers by the state's governor Oliver Norton, a personal friend.

Since his family had moved to Kentucky when he was quite young, Davis' loyalty was at first in question – indeed, many Union soldiers mistrusted him to the end. James Connolly called him a "copperhead" – a pro-Southern Northerner – in a letter home written in December 1864. Sherman's staff officer George W. Nichols recalled, "It was said at the beginning of the war that General Davis had a leaning of strong

sympathy toward the Rebels." He did not go South, however, and soon proved his loyalty to the army and administration in Washington. In December 1861 Davis was commissioned a brigadier-general of



volunteers. He commanded a division at the battle of Pea Ridge (7–8 March 1862) and again at Corinth (3–4 October).

Davis is most famous, however, for shooting his superior officer, Maj. Gen. William Nelson – a man who was almost universally disliked – in the lobby of the Galt House hotel in Louisville, Kentucky, on 29 September 1862. According to the account published in *Harper's Weekly*, Nelson, who had previously threatened to arrest Davis for not knowing the exact number of troops in his command, struck Davis twice in the face with the back of his hand after Davis demanded an apology. Nelson then turned and strode off into the ladies' parlor, saying, "Did you hear that damned rascal insult me?" Davis also left, but returned with a borrowed pistol. Nelson came out of the parlor just as Davis entered the hotel lobby, and Davis shot Nelson in the chest; he died some 15 minutes later.

Sherman pretty much summed up the feelings of the army top brass in a letter to his wife: "What a sad thing was Nelson's fate. I knew him well. He was a clever fellow, but very overbearing & blustering. Davis on the contrary was a modest bashful quiet but brave man. I cannot justify the act, but do not condemn it." Again Davis was aided by his powerful friend Governor Norton. Although he was arrested immediately, not only was he not prosecuted for the murder, but he was restored to duty only a few days after the shooting.

Davis served as a divisional commander at Murfreesboro (Stones River, 31 December 1862–3 January 1863), Chickamauga (19–20 September 1863), and in the drive to Atlanta. There he received command of XIV Corps, which he led in the March to the Sea and the Carolinas campaign (November 1864–March 1865). Nevertheless, his

An impression published in *Harper's Weekly* of the episode which was Davis' main claim to fame, when he shot and mortally wounded his superior, Gen. William Nelson, in the lobby of the Galt House hotel at Louisville, Kentucky. That Davis was not prosecuted for murder speaks volumes for Nelson's unpopularity.

promotion to major-general was by brevet, not as a regular officer. Many of his own soldiers opposed his promotion, citing – among other things – his bad treatment of local African-Americans during the March to the Sea (November–December 1864). After the war Davis was named a colonel in command of the 23rd Infantry. He served in Alaska and in the Modoc War, dying in Chicago on 30 November 1879. He is buried in the Crown Hill Cemetery, Indianapolis.

FRÉMONT, John Charles (1813–90)

John C. Frémont (see Plate A2) was born in Savannah, Georgia, on 21 January 1813. He attended Charleston College for two years, being expelled in 1831. Even so, he gained an appointment as teacher of mathematics on the USS *Natchez*, and subsequently as a lieutenant in the US Army Corps of Topographical Engineers in 1838. He had some political influence with Andrew Jackson's presidential administration, which eased his way into these positions. He was soon sent on a mapping expedition to western Minnesota, where he met Senator Thomas Hart Benton and fell in love with the senator's daughter Jessie. Despite strong objections from the senator, the couple wed in 1841. Thereafter Frémont led several mapping expeditions throughout the American West.

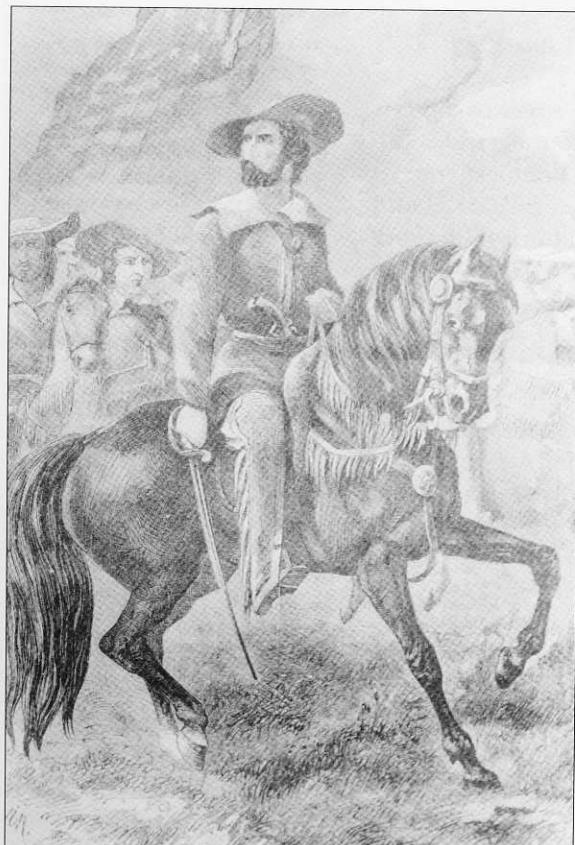
Frémont first gained fame in the Mexican War (1846–48), commanding the Battalion of California Volunteers as a major from July 1846 until discharged on 19 April 1847. However, he quarreled with the US Navy commander in California, which led to a court-martial; found

guilty of mutiny and insubordination, Frémont resigned from the army in 1848. He remained in California, and bought land in Mariposa where gold was later found, making him well-to-do. Well known in the state, he used his position to run successfully for the US Senate in 1850 on the entry of California into the Union as a state. Frémont became one of the leaders of the new Republican Party and was its first candidate for president in 1856. In the final count he lost to Democrat James Buchanan by only 500,000 votes out of 21,000,000 votes cast.

When the war broke out he was appointed a major-general in the regular US Army and given command of the Department of the West. Although Frémont was popular with the press, he was less highly regarded by his soldiers. E.F. Ware, 1st Iowa Infantry, later wrote: "If there ever was an empty, spread-eagle, show-off, horn-tooting general, it was Frémont. I have no time here to go into the story of his eccentricities and follies, but we all despised him forever and forever more. He had no abilities of any kind... . He was weak and vain, and with a heavy touch of what 'Orpheus C.Kerr' called the 'damphool.'"

One of Frémont's misjudgements was his tendency to surround himself with special 'bodyguards' in elaborate uniforms, who looked more

John Charles Frémont as he first appeared in Western garb in the pages of *Harper's Weekly*. John Pope wrote of him: "My first impressions of him were that he was a handsome and graceful man, short and slender, with black eyes and black curly hair, rather of the 'ringlet style.'"



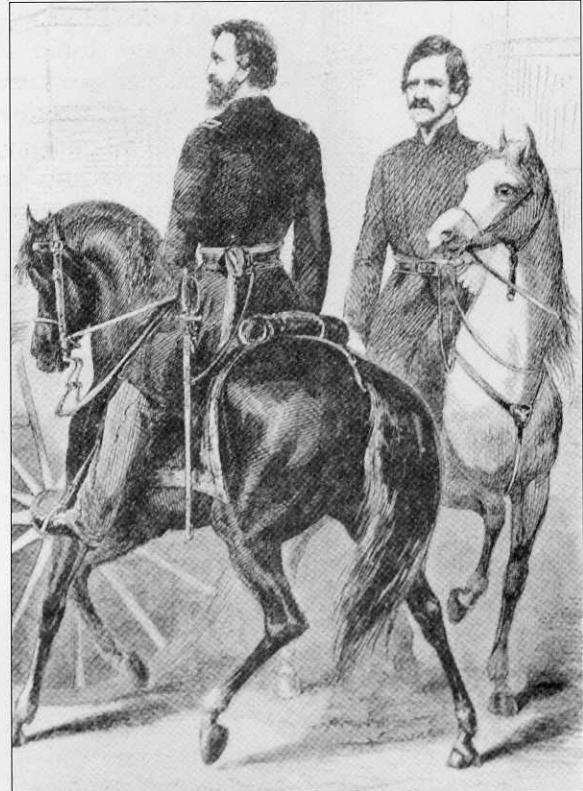
like an opera army than a fighting force. The visiting French Army Lt.Col. Camille Ferri Pisani noted that Frémont's headquarters in St Louis, in one of the city's most beautiful houses, had "a military luxury and a display of military authority unknown in the United States and suggesting at once both a commander in chief and a proconsul."

Frémont also fell out of favor with the government in Washington. In August 1861 he issued a proclamation that had not been approved in advance by President Lincoln, declaring that civilians found under arms would be court-martialled and shot if convicted, and that slaves owned by those who aided the rebellion would be emancipated instantly. Lincoln, who feared offending slave-owners in border slave states such as Kentucky, was appalled. He quickly wrote to Frémont that his proclamation put Union military prisoners in danger, and moreover, that the emancipation clause "will alarm our Southern friends, and turn them against us... ." He asked Frémont to amend the proclamation accordingly. Frémont felt insulted, and his wife went East to explain Frémont's views to the president. Despite this lobbying, Lincoln ordered Frémont "to conform to, and not transcend" government policy.

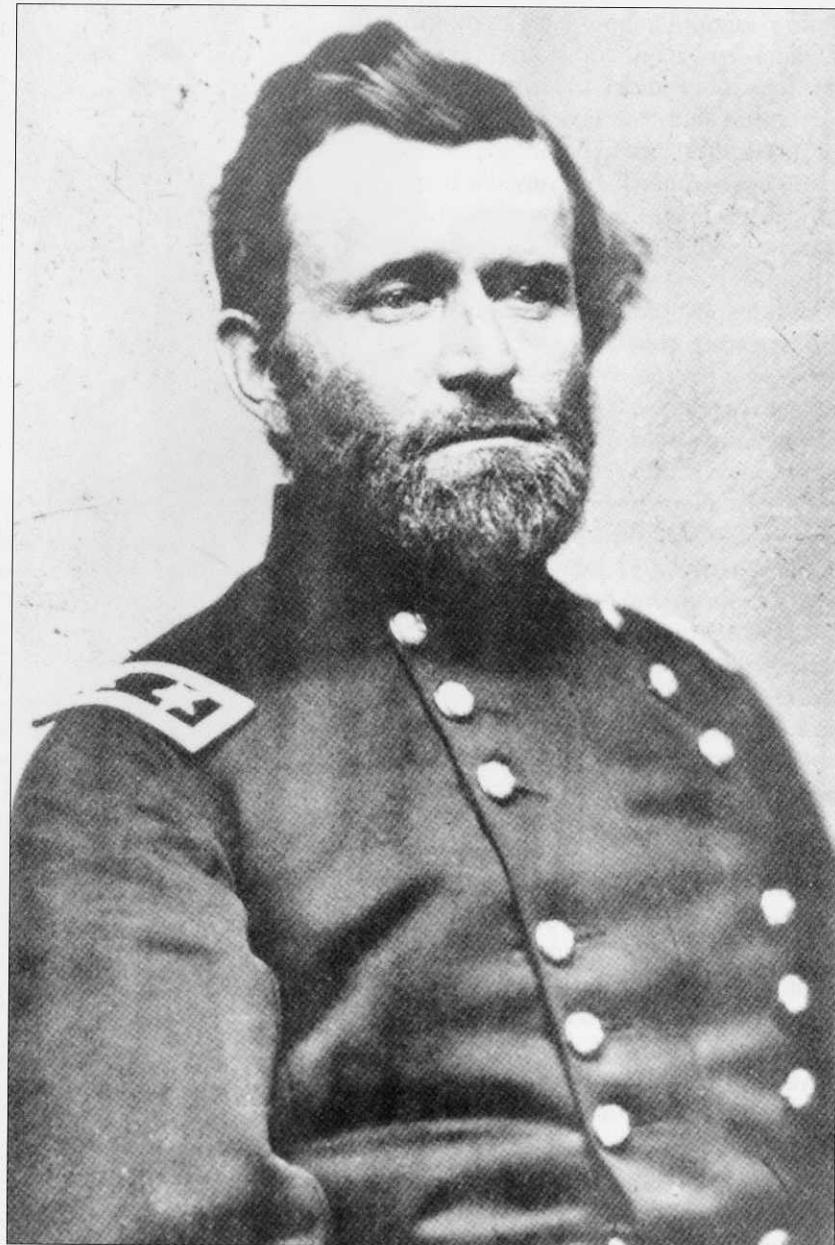
Frémont also ran into trouble with Missouri's governor, who took his complaints to Washington; with his fellow general Francis P. Blair and his family; and even with his own subordinates. Tales of corruption and fraud in his department began to reach Washington, and Lincoln finally wrote, "He is losing the confidence of the men near him, whose support any man in his position has to have to be successful." Frémont was relieved from command on 2 November 1861; never again given a command, he finally resigned from the army on 4 June 1864.

After his resignation he was nominated by radical Republicans and some "war Democrats" to stand for president against Lincoln in 1864, but was talked out of running. Eventually losing his California estates, Frémont lived largely on income from his wife's literary work. He was territorial governor of Arizona from 1878 until 1887, and was also restored to the army's list as a retired major-general. He died in New York City on 13 July 1890, and is buried in Rockland Cemetery, Piermont-on-the-Hudson, New York.

His fellow officer John Pope met Frémont in 1845, and later described him: "He talked very little and appeared to be as reserved in character as he was frugal in words." Pope later served with him in the early days of the war in the West, and noted: "General Fremont's unusual reticence and the extreme difficulty of seeing him, much less talking with him, was a great misfortune to him and I have no doubt led to much of his trouble and disappointment. His staff officers, who naturally were supposed to reflect his wishes and to express his orders, almost completely shut him off from the highest officers of his command by denying them admittance to his presence, or by so obstructing and delaying



Frémont, left, pictured in more conventional dress with his fellow Western general Nathaniel P. Banks in the 31 August 1861 issue of *Harper's Weekly*. A French observer, Lt. Col. Pisani, wrote that Frémont was "a man about fifty years old, average height, very thin and nervous. Obviously he is made of iron and accustomed to physical fatigue. His face, surrounded by graying hair and beard, is thin, dark, and tired, yet full of vivacity and intelligence. The fiery glance of two extremely deep black eyes lightens his face."



Ulysses S. Grant as a major-general. Horace Porter, who joined Grant's staff in November 1863, described him as "a man of slim figure, slightly stooped, five feet eight inches in height, weighing only a hundred and thirty-five pounds, and of a modesty of mien and gentleness of manner which seemed to fit him more for the court than for the camp. His eyes were dark-gray, and were the most expressive of his features. Like nearly all men who speak little, he was a good listener; but his face gave little indication of his thoughts, and it was the expression of his eyes which furnished about the only response to the speaker.... . His mouth, like Washington's, was of the letter-box shape, the contact of the lips forming a nearly horizontal line.... . His hair and beard were of a chestnut-brown color. The beard was worn full, no part of the face being shaved, but, like the hair, was always kept closely and neatly trimmed.... . His face was not perfectly symmetrical, the left eye being a very little lower than the right.... . He never carried his body erect, and having no ear for music or rhythm, he never kept step to the airs played by the bands, no matter how vigorously the bass drums emphasized the accent.... . In conversing he usually employed only two gestures; one was the stroking of his chin beard with his left hand; the other was the raising and lowering of his right hand, and resting it at intervals upon his knee or a table, the hand being held with the fingers close together and the knuckles bent, so that the back of the hand and fingers formed a right angle." *(Military Images)*

them, that many left without seeing him and in a most unfortunate state of feeling for future success."

GRANT, Ulysses Simpson (1822-85)

Hiram Ulysses Grant (see Plate B2), to use the name under which the general was baptized, was born on 27 April 1822 at Point Pleasant, Ohio, the grandson of a Revolutionary War soldier. He was appointed to West Point by his congressman, who registered him as Ulysses Simpson Grant, having forgotten his first name. At the time, Grant later wrote, "A military life had no charms for me.... ." Grant was graduated 21st in the class of 1843, which also contained his future brother-in-law, Frederick T. Grant, who later served on his staff. Assigned to the 4th Infantry, in Mexico he

received a brevet to first lieutenant for meritorious conduct at Molino Rey (8 September 1847), and a brevet to captain for gallant conduct at Chapultepec (13 September). After the war he served as regimental quartermaster from September 1849 until he resigned from the US Army on 31 July 1854. Separated from his wife, who was possibly the single most important thing in his life, by his service in California, he began to drink more than he should have, and resigned rather than face the possible official consequences. His life thereafter until the Civil War was a series of failures, as a farmer, real estate salesman, and customhouse clerk. He finally took a job as a clerk in the leather store owned by two of his brothers.

When the Civil War broke out Grant wrote to the governor of Illinois offering his services, with hopes of getting a commission as brigadier-general of volunteers. Instead he was given command of a badly disciplined regiment, the 21st Illinois, as colonel. Whipping the regiment into shape, he received his brigadier-general's commission on 7 August 1861, due in part to the influence of an Illinois congressman, Elihu B. Washburne.

Grant took his new brigade to Belmont, Missouri, a Confederate outpost on the west bank of the Mississippi; here he made a successful if minor attack on 7 November 1861 that bled his troops. He then commanded the army forces that took Forts Henry and Donelson (February 1862), being nicknamed "Unconditional Surrender" Grant from the terms he offered Donelson's commander. Grant's victories were bright spots in a dark year for the Union, and he was commissioned major-general of volunteers.

On 6–7 April 1862 Grant narrowly escaped a severe defeat at Shiloh at the hands of A.S. Johnson; he was loudly criticized, and Halleck took over his forces and led them to Cairo, with Grant as a bad-tempered second-in-command ready to quit. In June 1862 Sherman, one of Grant's closest subordinates and friends, wrote to his wife that Grant "is not a brilliant man... but he is a good & brave soldier tried for years, is sober, very industrious, and as kind as a child."

Halleck was called East on his promotion to overall command in July 1862, leaving Grant at the head of the weak Army of the Tennessee. After frustrating maneuvers which culminated in a limited victory at Corinth (3–4 October 1862), Grant moved against the strategic Mississippi stronghold of Vicksburg. During the subsequent siege newspaper reporter Sylvanus Cadwallader, who covered Grant during the war for the *New York Herald*, had an opportunity to observe his personal courage: "He had gone into the cramped exposed redoubt to see how the work was progressing and noticing the reluctance with which the men could be brought to the open embrasure, deliberately clambered on top of the embankment in plain view of the sharpshooters, and directed the men in moving and placing the guns. The bullets zipped through the air by dozens, but strangely none of them touched his person or his clothing. He paid no attention to appeals or expostulations, acting as though they were not heard; and smoked quietly and serenely all the time, except when he removed his cigar to speak to the men at work."

In May 1863 Grant fought a dazzling campaign of maneuver against separate Confederate forces commanded by A.S. Johnson and John

Grant first appeared in the pages of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* on 18 March 1862, to mark his victory at Fort Donelson; he is depicted wearing the stiffened black "Hardee" dress hat with upturned brim. At that date he wore a full-length beard, though he later trimmed it back. The opposing Maj. Gen. Leonidas Polk, meeting Grant after the battle of Belmont, noted that Grant "looked rather sad... like a man who was not at ease and whose thoughts were not the most agreeable."



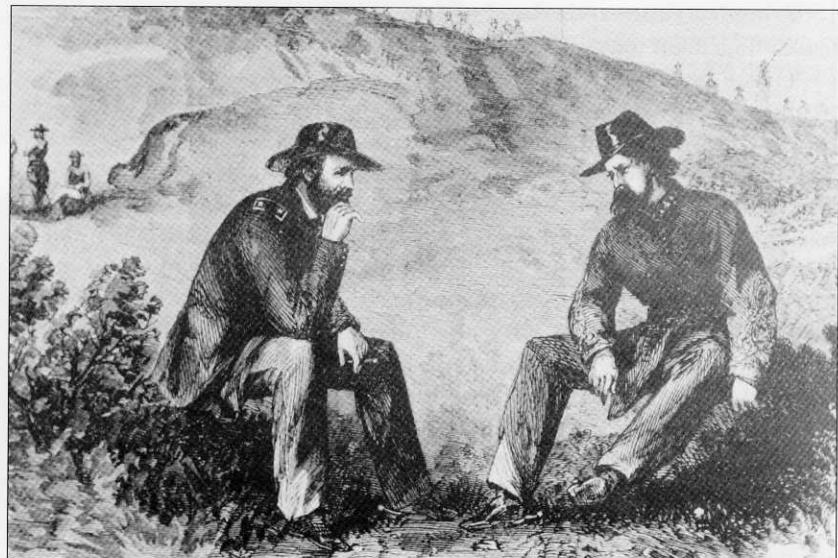
C. Pemberton, culminating in victory at Champion's Hill on the Big Black River (16 May). After several attempts and a long siege Vicksburg finally surrendered on 4 July 1863, cutting the Confederacy in half from north to south. Grant received a commission as major-general in the regular army and Union command in the West. In October 1863 he marched to besieged Chattanooga; under his leadership, with help from Hooker, Sherman, and Thomas, the siege was lifted and Braxton Bragg's Confederate army was routed in a two-day battle at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge (24–25 November 1863). Grant was then named the first lieutenant-general in the US Army since George Washington, and was brought East to take overall command.

Grant chose to stay with Meade's Army of the Potomac, while sending other forces under Sherman against Georgia, Banks against Texas, Butler against Richmond, and Hunter into the Valley of Virginia. Under Grant's supervision the Army of the Potomac, checked in the Wilderness (5–6 May 1864), did not retreat as it had done so many times before, but headed south around the right flank of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, towards Richmond. Lee was forced to fight a running series of battles in May and June (Spotsylvania, Yellow Tavern, and Cold Harbor) that ended up in trenches in front of Petersburg, Virginia, south of Richmond. Grant's losses were heavy, but Lee's were equally so and more difficult to replace.

Not letting up even while in a siege situation, Grant continued to probe Lee's lines, especially on his right, finally forcing him out his fortifications. On 2 April 1865, Lee abandoned Richmond and headed west, planning to turn south and join his forces with the Confederate army in South Carolina. Grant moved his army equally quickly, cutting Lee off and forcing the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox on 9 April 1865.

As the most important general of the Union army, it was no surprise that Grant was nominated for president and won in 1868. His two administrations were, however, marred by scandals involving administration officers, although Grant himself was never accused of any wrongdoing.

Grant, left, discusses the terms for the surrender of Vicksburg, Mississippi, with Confederate Lt. Gen. John C. Pemberton. According to the despatch that accompanied this sketch in *Harper's Weekly*: "At three o'clock this afternoon [3 July 1863] the meeting of General Grant and Pemberton took place near the rebel work Fort Hill. After a conference of some two hours, in the most quiet and courteous manner, the two officers parted with a handshake that seemed most friendly. Quietly seated upon the grassy slope near the rebel works, one could only look with the greatest interest upon the scene."





Grant surveys Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga, after its capture by Hooker's troops on 24 November 1863; he smokes one of his habitual cigars. A newspaper correspondent attached to his headquarters, Sylvanus Cadwallader, later wrote: "He seemed constrained and unnatural when sitting for pictures, and was too stiff and austere in appearance to do himself justice. In his every day life he was inclined to carelessness in dress and attitude. His clothing was unexceptionable in quality and condition, but his manner of wearing it was scarcely up to military equipments. It is safe to say that no one ever saw him with his coat buttoned up to his chin except on ceremonial occasions. Three or four lower buttons of his vest were all he commonly used. His linen was conspicuous, but immaculate. His overcoat was generally the army blue of regulation pattern no wise differing from those of officers and privates, with nothing on it to distinguish him or denote rank. He had finer and better overcoats for journeys, or state occasions; but never wore them in the field... ." (Military Images)

Traveling through Europe after his second term, he returned to New York and became involved in a brokerage firm, Grant & Ward; the company went bankrupt, and he became unable to support himself. Mark Twain, the famous writer, admired the articles Grant produced on the war for the *Century Magazine*, and convinced him to write his memoirs. This he did, while dying from throat cancer; anxious to provide for his family, he finished the book only weeks before his death on 23 July 1885. The book, one of the best-written American auto-biographies ever printed, successfully maintained his family after his death. Grant is buried in a mausoleum on Riverside Drive, New York City. Sylvanus Cadwallader left a number of observations about the general:

"Grant always exhibited marvelous self-control and was thereby enabled to control others.... He had been driven into avocations which, to him, were humiliating, to obtain a bare support for his family. His army habits of undue conviviality unfitted him for close application to any business pursuit and made him untrustworthy in the estimation of his father and brothers, and of his father-in-law, W.Dent.... There was a strong element of Scotch thrift developed, which he retained to the end of his life.... There was a vein of carelessness and indolence running through Gen. Grant's character plainly discernible to those who knew him intimately, which seemed at variance with his other qualities of mind.... He disliked the laborious details of office work, and would have been a very inefficient Adjutant General of the United States Army. It was not so much a lack of knowledge and ability in this direction, as lack of application. His plans for marches were clearly outlined to his Adjutant, and Chief-of-Staff; and every detail of each quite apt to be thereafter wholly left to them for execution.... I never heard an oath (or

any substitute for one) escape his lips. He abominated 'smutty' stories and would not listen to them."

GRIERSON, Benjamin Henry (1826-1911)

Benjamin Grierson (see Plate G2) was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on 8 July 1826. Educated at a school in Youngstown, Ohio, he then taught music at several mid-western towns; in 1856 he opened a school at Meredosia, Illinois.

Grierson was taken onto the staff of Brig.Gen. Benjamin Prentiss at the beginning of the Civil War, but soon became major of the 6th Illinois Cavalry in October 1861. He was promoted to command of the regiment as colonel in April 1862.

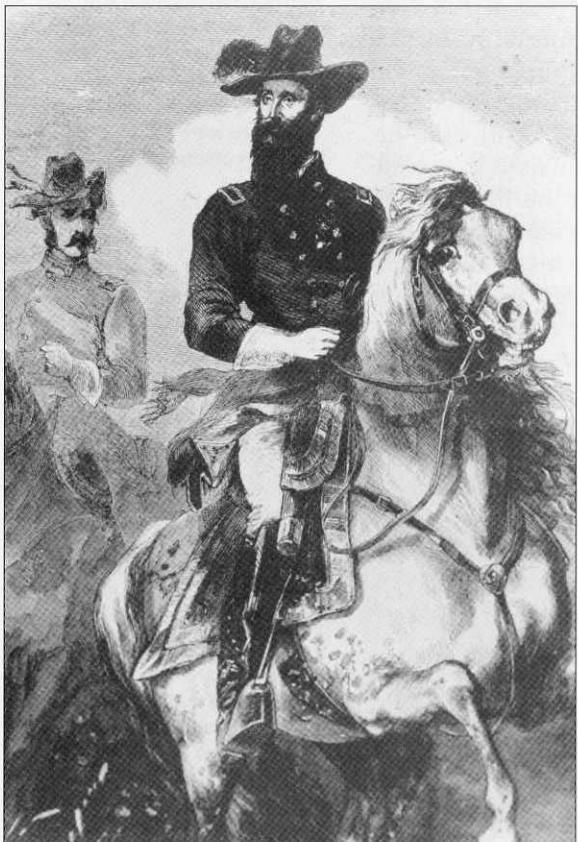
Given command of detachments of his own regiment as well as men of the 7th Illinois Cavalry and 2nd Iowa Cavalry, totaling some 1,700 troopers, Grierson started off on 17 April 1863 from La Grange, Tennessee, on a 17-day-long raid through Alabama and Mississippi. His troops managed to avoid many of the units sent after them, although they fought a number of skirmishes on their way as they destroyed sections of two railroads and vast amounts of supplies. His cavalrymen finally arrived at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on 2 May, at the end of the first long-range expedition Federal forces had made into Confederate territory.¹ The raid had proved that, in the words of Sherman, "the Confederacy was a hollow shell." Grant reported to Halleck that Grierson "had spread excitement throughout the state, destroying railroads,

trestleworks, bridges, burning locomotives and railway stock, taking prisoners, and destroying stores of all kinds. To use the expression of my informant, 'Grierson has knocked the heart out of the State.'"

For this feat Grierson was made a brigadier-general of volunteers to date from 3 June 1863, and given command of the cavalry of XVI Corps. Grierson would have found that satisfying, as he was a great self-promoter, making sure that testimonials of his ability found their way into the public eye. He also tried to get other Union generals to plead his case for promotion; Sherman replied to such a request in February 1863, that he would "at once send you a letter to the Secy. of War, but cannot promise it will be of any value. I certainly wish your promotion if you want it."

Grierson spent 1864 and 1865 in the Army of the Mississippi as a cavalry division commander as well as commander of the army's cavalry corps from time to time, until relieved of duty by James Wilson, Sherman's new cavalry commander, who was junior in rank to Grierson. Going further West, he was involved in the taking of Mobile, Alabama, towards the war's end. After the war he

Benjamin Grierson depicted in *Harper's Weekly* in full cavalier style, the face taken from a photograph.



¹ In 1959 the raid was used as the basis for a highly fictionalized motion picture, John Ford's *The Horse Soldiers*, starring John Wayne and William Holden.

was commissioned a major-general of volunteers on 19 March 1866, before being mustered out of the volunteer service on 30 April. He was commissioned directly into the regular army as colonel of the 10th Cavalry, an African-American regiment. Breveted brigadier-general and major-general for his service in the Southwest, Grierson was promoted to brigadier-general on 5 April 1890, and retired that July. He died at his summer home in Omena, Michigan, on 1 September 1911.

HALLECK, Henry Wagner (1815-72)

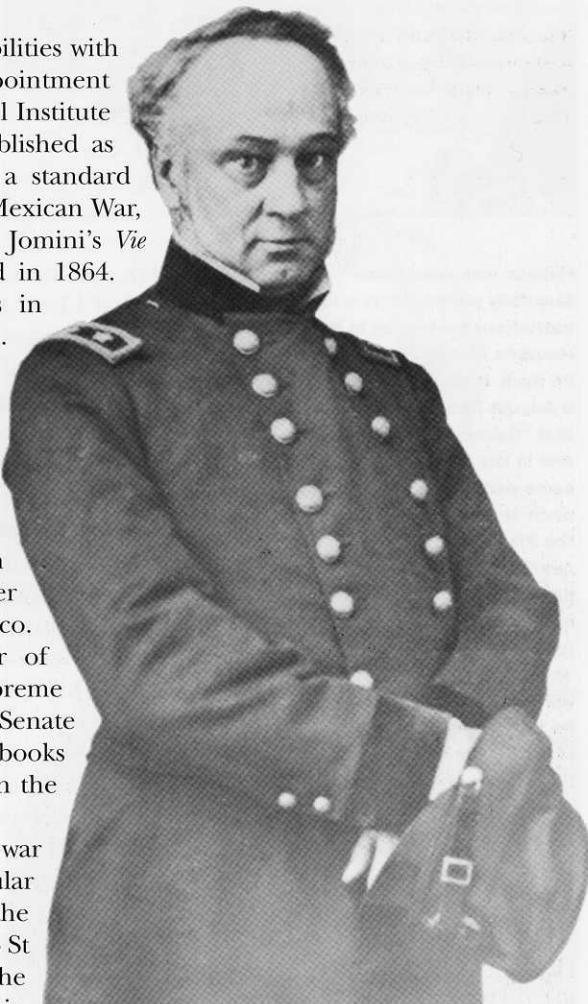
Henry W.Halleck (see Plate B3) was born at Westernville, New York, on 16 January 1815. Disliking the farming life which seemed to be his lot, he ran away and was taken care of by his maternal grandfather, who sent him to Hudson Academy and then Union College, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Known as "Old Brains," Halleck was graduated third in the West Point class of 1839, behind Isaac Ingalls Stevens – who was graduated with top honors and died at the battle of Chantilly in 1862 – and the second-place graduate, who died at sea in 1843. Halleck served as an assistant professor at the Academy while still an undergraduate there. After graduation he was assigned to the Corps of Engineers, working on New York coastal defenses before being sent to France to inspect French fortifications.

Halleck gained a reputation for his intellectual abilities with his publication *Bitumen and its Uses* (1841), and his appointment as a lecturer on military science and art by the Lowell Institute in Boston in 1845. His lectures at Lowell were published as *Elements of Military Art and Science*, which became a standard work among the armed forces of the period. In the Mexican War, while on his way to California, he translated Henri Jomini's *Vie Politique et Militaire de Napoleon*, which he published in 1864. He was breveted captain for meritorious services in California, where he served as the secretary of state. He was a member of the convention that formed the state's constitution, as well as chief-of-staff for lower California, and lieutenant-governor of Mazatlan, Mexico. He was named a captain in the Corps of Engineers in 1853 "for fourteen years of meritorious service."

Nevertheless, Halleck resigned his commission in August 1854; entering the bar, he became a partner in the law firm of Halleck, Billing, & Co in San Francisco. The following year he married a granddaughter of Alexander Hamilton. Offered a seat on the state supreme court, he declined it – as he did a chance at a US Senate seat. Instead he spent time in business and writing books on mining and international law, as well as serving in the California Militia.

Based on his reputation, on the outbreak of war Lincoln appointed Halleck a major-general in the regular army to rank from 19 August 1861, making him the fourth ranking general in the US Army. He was sent to St Louis in November 1861, to relieve Frémont. There he reorganized the National forces, which had been left in

Henry Halleck, an engineer, administrator, and author of several books, had more of the appearance of a bank teller than a soldier. John Pope later described him as "a black-browed saturnine man, heavy of figure and of feature..." On 9 August 1862, Harper's Weekly reported: "Major-General Halleck, in personal appearance, is below the medium height, straight, active, and well-formed, and has a brisk energetic gait, significant of his firm and decisive character. His nose is delicate and well formed, his forehead ample, and his mouth by no means devoid of humour. His eye is of a hazel color, clear as a morning star, and of intense brilliancy..." (Military Images)





Halleck was sometimes fancifully portrayed as a fierce battlefield soldier, as in this Harper's Weekly impression of 26 April 1862. Nevertheless, the 9 August issue of Harper's noted that "General Halleck in camp and in the field is hardly the same person who might have been seen quietly gliding from the Planters' House to headquarters in St Louis. He does not look a whit more military in appearance, but looks, in his new and rich though plain uniform, as if he were in borrowed clothes. In truth, he bears a most striking resemblance to some oleaginous Methodist parson dressed in regimentals... ."

chaos by Frémont's administration. In overall command of the theater in which the Union finally scored victories such as Forts Henry and Donelson, Island No. 10, and Elkhorn Tavern, he gained a rather undeserved reputation as a field commander. In fact, when he actually took the field to replace Grant after Shiloh for the move on Corinth, he moved as slowly as McClellan did on the Peninsula against an equally outnumbered enemy. The Confederates were able to abandon Corinth and remove all their supplies safely as a result.

William T. Sherman, who had difficulties with Halleck during the war, wrote afterwards: "General Halleck was a man of great capacity, of large acquirements, and at the time [1862] possessed the confidence of the country, and of most of the army. I held him in high estimation, and gave him the credit for the combinations which had resulted in placing this magnificent army of a hundred thousand men, well equipped and provided, with a good base, at Corinth, from which he could move in any direction."

As a result of this reputation, however well deserved, Halleck was called to Washington in July 1862 to become the army's general-in-chief. Once there, he found himself directing George B. McClellan, who resented losing the office that

Halleck assumed. McClellan wrote to his wife on 30 July: "I am sorry to say that I hear that too much faith must not be rested in Halleck – I hope it is not so – but will be very careful how far I trust him.... He has done me *no good yet*." After Halleck ordered McClellan to abandon his position outside Richmond and march to the help of the Army of Virginia south of Washington, McClellan wrote, "I am forced to the conclusion that H. is very dull, very incompetent...." This opinion would not change so long as Halleck remained as McClellan's superior officer, or even after McClellan left the service. Despite the element of personal resentment, however, McClellan's estimation was correct: Halleck proved a failure in his new post. He involved himself in minute details of troops and matériel, while passing on to his subordinates the responsibilities for his own failure to oversee the overall war effort.

Despite his failings, Halleck remained in that position even when Grant was named a lieutenant-general and became the actual head of the army; thereafter Halleck was essentially reduced to the position of the army's chief clerk. John Pope, who admitted that it was difficult for anyone who served with Halleck to write about him without bias, later described him thus: "He seemed to proceed on the theory that everyone around him was seeking to get some advantage of him and he was continually taking precautions against his officers, which did not attract their regard to him.... He had a large ability of the closet kind and was in no sense brilliant – with theories often sustained and put forth by the best authorities he was familiar; acts to illustrate these theories he was utterly

incompetent to do. He considered that any statement or report that might, even for the time, be beneficial to the public was justifiable whether true or not and this theory he practiced to the injury of some of the officers who served under him and to the damage of his own character. He was an office man altogether and in matters of administration he had both ability and industry."

After the war Halleck was given command of the Military Division of the James until August 1865, when he returned to San Francisco in command of the Pacific Division. He was sent to Louisville, Kentucky, in 1869 as commander of the Division of the South. He died there on 9 January 1872, and is buried in Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York.

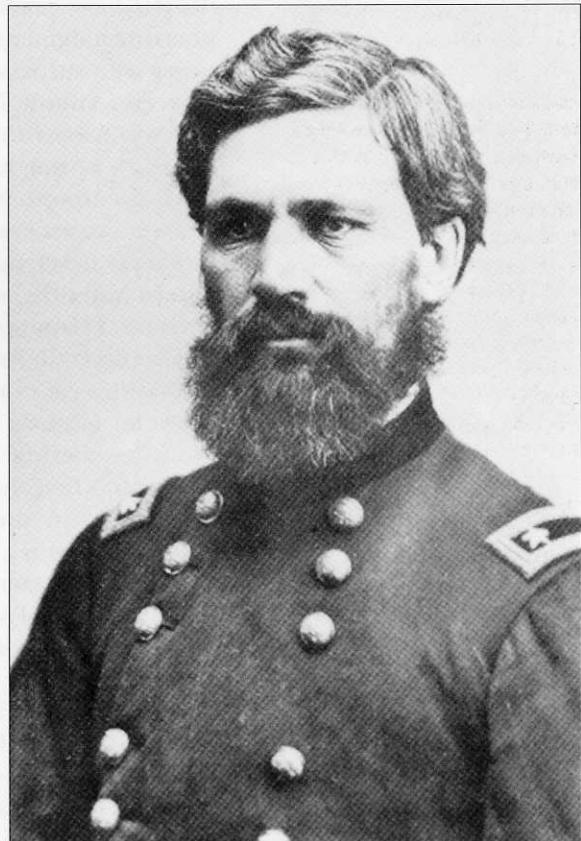
HOWARD, Oliver Otis (1830-1909)

Oliver O. Howard (see Plate E1) was born at Leeds, Maine, on 8 November 1830. After graduating from Bowdoin College in Maine he attended the US Military Academy; he was graduated fourth in the class of 1854 – the first place being achieved by Robert E. Lee's son G.W. Custis Lee. Assigned to the Ordnance Corps, he spent half his pre-war career as an assistant professor of mathematics at West Point, and the rest on Ordnance Corps business.

Despite his lack of command experience, 1st Lieutenant Howard was commissioned colonel of the 3rd Maine Infantry in May 1861. He resigned his regular commission on 7 June as he moved up in rank. He commanded a brigade at First Manassas (Bull Run, 21 July 1861), and was commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers to date from 3 September. Howard commanded a brigade in II Corps during the Peninsula campaign, where he lost his right arm during the battle of Seven Pines (Fair Oaks, 31 May–1 June 1862). Returning to duty after recuperating, he commanded the rearguard in the retreat from Second Manassas (29–30 August), and the Second Division, II Corps at Antietam (17 September).

Commissioned a major-general of volunteers on 29 November 1862, Howard was given command of XI Corps in time for Fredericksburg (13 December). He commanded this corps, made up in large part of European immigrants, at Chancellorsville (1–6 May 1863). There, holding the right of the Union Army, he disregarded warnings of Confederates approaching his right flank and failed to post sufficient pickets or alert his subordinates to the possibility of attack. It was a fatal error: "Stonewall" Jackson's troops smashed into his position and totally routed the corps, and only nightfall and Jackson's mortal wounding saved his corps from destruction. The popular blame was assigned to the foreign rank and file rather than to Howard, whose reputation survived this blunder.

Oliver Otis Howard as a major-general, after he had stopped shaving his upper lip. Frank Haskell described him in 1863: "Howard is medium in size, has nothing marked about him, is the youngest of them all [Army of the Potomac corps commanders], I think – has lost an arm in the war, has straight brown hair and beard, shaves his short upper lip, over which his nose slants down, dim blue eyes, and on the whole, appears a very pleasant, affable, well dressed little gentleman."
(Military Images)



Again, at Gettysburg, Howard led XI Corps into battle on 1 July 1863 – some of the first Union infantry on the field – but they fought badly, and his corps was essentially out of action after that first day. Despite this, Howard received the thanks of Congress for his selection of Cemetery Hill and Cemetery Ridge as a fall-back position after Federal forces had been driven out of the town.

Howard's corps had lost all credibility among the other troops of the Army of the Potomac after Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. In the fall of 1863, XI Corps and the understrength XII Corps were sent west to help break the siege of Chattanooga. There Howard served well enough to be assigned command of IV Corps in the drive to Atlanta. On the death of James McPherson, Sherman gave him command of the Army of the Tennessee; this force, comprising XV and XVII Corps, made up the right wing for the March through the Carolinas. In 1864 Sherman wrote to Halleck, "Howard is a Christian, elegant gentleman, and conscientious soldier. In him I made no mistake."

Sherman's artillery chief, Thomas Osborn, wrote of Howard: "General Howard's ability as a soldier is almost eclipsed by his kindness and consideration for his troops, their comfort and welfare in every particular, his persistent fighting when engaged, and determination to win; the reckless disregard of his own person; his implicit obedience to all authorized orders, and the child-like simplicity of his social character. He has in his personal address a nervous and unstudied gesture, which to people unacquainted with him, appears feminine. Still his address is elegant and his language indicates a mind of very superior cultivation."

"His most marked characteristic is his especial military ability and unerring judgment in military operations. His energy of character I have never seen surpassed, and with all he is the highest toned gentleman I have ever known. It appears impossible for him ever to think amiss. He is by no means the profound thinker and learned man that General Sherman is, nor has he his large natural ability. He does not call out from his troops the enthusiastic applause that Generals Logan and Hooker do; yet every officer and man has an unbounded confidence in him, and never question that an order from him is from the highest known authority, or even to think of going beyond it for a superior decision. I have never been in an Army where such implicit confidence was displayed in its leader."

Another of Sherman's staff officers, George W. Nichols, wrote: "General Howard is a man whose religious convictions are intense, positive, entering into the coloring of every event of his life. When exposed to fire, there is no braver man living than he. He does not go into action in the Cromwellian spirit, singing psalms and uttering prayers, but with a cool and quiet determination which is inspired by a lofty sense of a sacred duty to be performed. His courage is a realization of the strength of a spiritual religion rather than a physical qualification. The General is constantly censured for rashly exposing himself to the fire of the enemy...."

After the war Howard returned to the regular army as a brigadier-general. Deeply religious, he took up the cause of the African-American and, as a result, was named first commissioner of the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands in May 1865. This organization was created to help African-American former slaves adjust to free

life. It was, however, largely to fail; despite Howard's personal honesty and desire for progress – supported by many of those who came into the organization – the Bureau as a whole was riddled with corruption. Howard went in front of a court of inquiry in 1874, but was exonerated.

Howard was a co-founder of Howard University in Washington, DC, one of the primary African-American places of higher learning, and was a director of an African-American bank. He also saw service as superintendent of West Point, and in the West. He was promoted to major-general in 1886 and commanded the Division of the East until he retired in 1894. He then made his home in Burlington, Vermont, taking time to help set up Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee. He died in Burlington on 26 October 1909, and is buried in Lake View Cemetery there.

KILPATRICK, Hugh Judson (1836-81)

Hugh Kilpatrick (see Plate G3) was born near Deckertown, New Jersey, on 14 January 1836. Although he was poorly educated he was accepted into West Point, where he dropped the name Hugh, going by Judson Kilpatrick (although he was also known as "Little Kil"). He was graduated 17th in the class of May 1861, a year in which the 1861 graduating class was sent out into the world a month early because of the war, while what would have been the class of 1862 was actually graduated in June 1861. One of his classmates was Orville Babcock, who would serve as an aide-de-camp to Grant from 1864.

Immediately after graduation Kilpatrick accepted a commission as captain in the 5th New Jersey Infantry, with which he was wounded at Big Bethel, Virginia (10 June 1861), in the war's first action of any note. In September 1861 he transferred to become the lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd New York Cavalry, being promoted colonel of that regiment in December 1862. He was commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers on 14 June 1863, commanding a brigade and later a division of cavalry in the Army of the Potomac.

Kilpatrick was sent West in April 1864 to command a division in Sherman's army. Badly wounded at Resaca (15 May 1864) at the beginning of the Atlanta campaign, he returned to duty in July 1864. Thereafter he served in cavalry battles around Atlanta, gaining the nickname "Kil-Cavalry" for his constant hard driving that wore out his command's horses.

Although almost a teetotaller who declined to play cards, Kilpatrick was, however, a notorious rake who usually had women of questionable morals around his headquarters. He was also vain and boastful. Major James Connolly wrote home: "Kilpatrick is one of the most vain, conceited, egotistical little popinjays I ever saw. He has one redeeming quality – he rarely drinks spirituous liquors, and never to excess. He is a very

Hugh Judson Kilpatrick as a major-general. George W. Nichols wrote of him: "In personal appearance [he] is of slight stature, but broad-chested and wiry-limbed. His face is expressive of determination and daring. A firm chin, earnest mouth, prominent nose, clear gray eyes, and expansive forehead, make up a striking physiognomy. His beard is reduced to side-whiskers.... In conversation he speaks earnestly and rapidly...." (Military Images)





Judson Kilpatrick liked to surround himself with women. Here he stands in a doorway between two ladies, in the uniform of a brigadier-general with the buttons set in pairs.
(Military Images)

ungraceful rider, looking more like a monkey than a man on horseback." Even so, when Sherman began his March to the Sea in November 1864 he picked Kilpatrick to command his cavalry, saying, "I know that Kilpatrick is a hell of a damned fool, but I want just that sort of man to command my cavalry in this expedition."

Connolly had a chance to observe Kilpatrick closely. On one occasion, he wrote, "Kilpatrick came out in his bare head and shirt sleeves to the fire in front of our tents this evening and regaled us with an anecdotal history of his student days at West Point. He told us many anecdotes of our General McCook and the rebel, General Wheeler." Major Thomas Osborn, the artillery commander of the Army of the Tennessee, wrote home in February 1865: "I consider [Confederate cavalry commander Joseph] Wheeler and Kilpatrick officers of about the same calibre, neither of them large. General Howard has recommended that if a Cavalry Corps is organized for this Army, that it be given to General Mower. I think this would be a great improvement on the present. Kilpatrick would command a division well enough under a superior, but he is barely fit to command himself."

Successful in both the March to the Sea and the March through the Carolinas in winter 1864–65, Kilpatrick ended the war with a brevet as a regular major-general as well as a commission as major-general of volunteers awarded on 19 June 1865. After the war he was named minister to Chile, serving until 1868. He returned to run for Congress, unsuccessfully, and was reappointed to Chile in 1881. He died there, in

Santiago, on 4 December 1881, aged not quite 46; his body was returned to be buried at West Point.

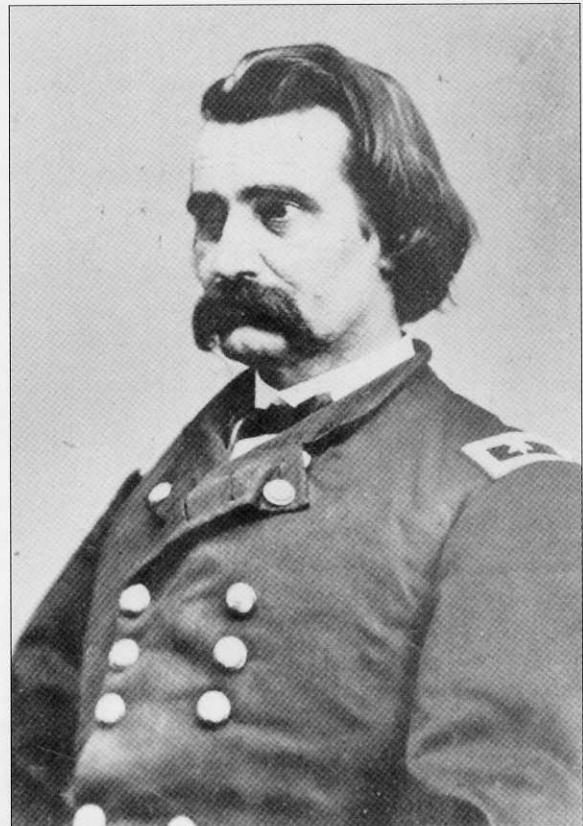
LOGAN, John Alexander (1826-86)

John A. Logan (see Plate H2) was born in Jackson County, Illinois, on 9 February 1826. With only a patchy education, he served from June 1847 to October 1848 as a second lieutenant in the 1st Additional Illinois Volunteers, although he saw no combat during the Mexican War. A Democrat, he later sat in the Illinois legislature and, in 1858, was elected to Congress as strongly pro-slavery. He supported Stephen Douglas in the 1860 election, but spoke out strongly for the Union after southern states began to declare themselves independent, even though his brother-in-law accepted a Confederate commission. He joined a Michigan unit as a volunteer in time for First Manassas (Bull Run, 21 July 1861), but then returned to southern Illinois to recruit the 31st Illinois, to which regiment he was named commander.

Present in November 1861 at Belmont, where he attracted Grant's attention when his horse was killed, Logan was wounded at Fort Donelson the following February. For his services he was named a brigadier-general of volunteers to rank from 21 March 1862, receiving command of a brigade and later a division in the Army of the Tennessee. A highly successful commander despite his lack of professional training, Logan was promoted to major-general on 13 March 1863, and given command of the Third Division in XVII Corps, commanded by James McPherson.

Logan led the attack when the mine was exploded in the siege of Vicksburg, and went on to command XV Corps in the Atlanta campaign. He was wounded again at Dallas, Georgia, during this campaign (25 May 1864). On the death of James McPherson he assumed command of the Army of the Tennessee, but Sherman gave permanent command of the army to Oliver Howard. As Sherman later wrote, "I did not consider him to the command of three corps. Between him and General Blair there existed a natural rivalry. Both were men of great courage and talent, but were politicians by nature and experience, and it may be that for this reason they were mistrusted by regular officers like Generals Schofield, Thomas, and myself." (Logan was deeply hurt by this, and after the war wrote *The Volunteer Soldier in America* to prove that volunteers made better soldiers than professionals.) Logan left his command temporarily to campaign for pro-war candidates in Illinois during the 1864 elections, but returned to lead XV Corps from Savannah through the Carolinas.

Grant later wrote that he judged Logan as competent a divisional commander as could be found in or out of the army and equal to higher command. George W. Nichols called Logan "a firm friend, a good hater, and an open fighter...." Horace Porter recalled "his swarthy features and long, coal-black hair giving him the air of a native Indian chief" – hence his nickname, "Black Jack."



John Alexander Logan. Staff officer George W. Nichols noted: "Nor is any one likely to forget the General's personal appearance who has ever had an opportunity of seeing him. That lithe, active figure; that finely-cut face, with its heavy black mustache overhanging a sensitive mouth; that black piercing eye, that open brow, shaded by the long black hair – all make up a striking figure."
(Military Images)



John A. Logan – fifth from right – photographed with his staff in Vicksburg after the city's fall.
Logan wears the regulation double-breasted frock coat with two rows of eight buttons set in pairs, a tall black hat – probably a striped "Hardee" – light-colored gauntlets and tall boots of soft leather. (Military Images)

John Pope described Logan thus: "His swarthy countenance, his fierce black eyes and long black hair, his erect martial figure and impetuous mien were all known to all the armies with which he served and the representative bodies which he adorned. Everyone, however, did not know the tenderness of his heart and the nobility of his soul. Free from envy or jealousy, he entered into whatever work was before him with perfect sincerity and with all his might. His animated face and his waving sword were seen in the front of every battle in which he was engaged, and his bold bearing and cheerful words brought encouragement and courage wherever they were seen on the line of battle."

After the war Logan returned to politics, serving both as a Representative and Senator from Illinois as well as organizing veterans' societies, and was an unsuccessful candidate for vice-president in 1884. He died as a senator on 26 December 1886, and is buried in the Soldiers' Home National Cemetery.

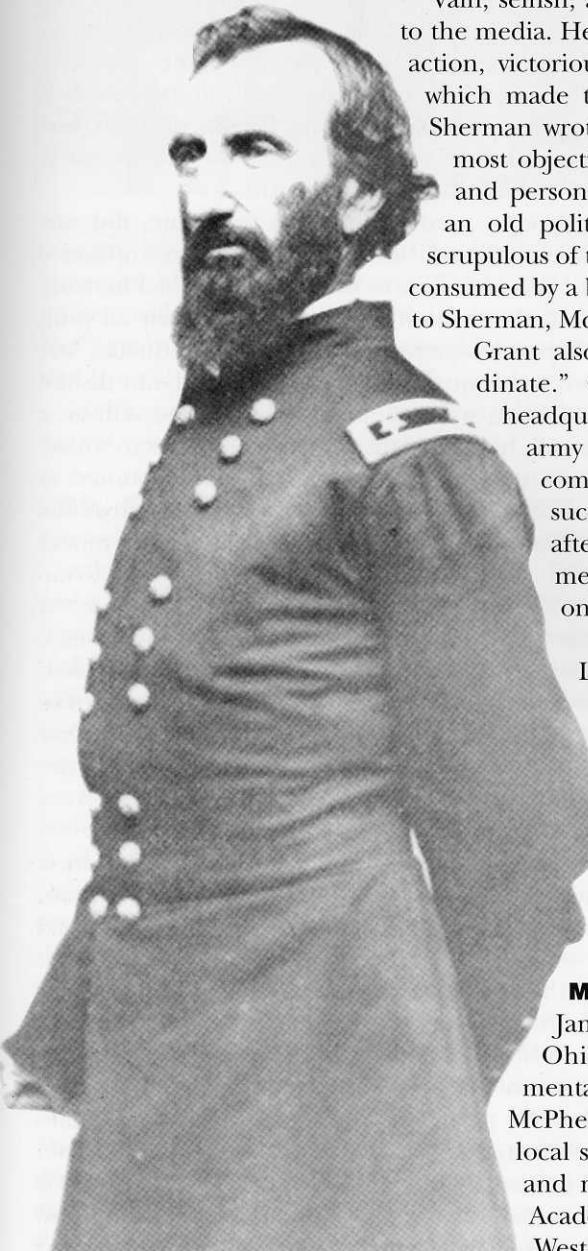
McCLERNAND, John Alexander (1812-90)

John A. McClernand (see Plate A3) was born near Hardinsburg, Kentucky, on 30 May 1812. Self-educated, he was admitted to the bar in 1832 and went into politics, serving in both the Illinois legislature and US Congress. His sole military experience before the Civil War was a stint as a private in the Illinois Militia during the Black Hawk War for three months in 1832.

Grant later wrote of McClernand: "General McClernand was a politician of very considerable prominence in his State; he was a member of Congress when the secession war broke out; he belonged to that political party which furnished all the opposition there was to a vigorous prosecution of the war for saving the Union; there was no delay in his declaring himself for the Union at all hazards, and there was no uncertain sound in his declaration of where he stood in the contest

**John Alexander McClelland,
the glory-hunting Illinois
Democrat politician who was
given senior command, and
kept in it until the end of 1864,
despite his lack of military talent,
insubordination, and unappealing
character. As always, Grant's
criticism of McClelland was
expressed only in measured
terms; Sherman's corre-
spondence was less inhibited,
calling him "a dirty dog" and
hinting at cowardice.**

(Military Images)



before the country. He also gave up his seat in Congress to take the field in defence of the principles he had proclaimed."

As a reward for his political stance in sensitive southern Illinois, McClelland was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers to date from 17 May 1861, and promoted to major-general dating from 21 March 1862. Despite his unattractive qualities, in fact his military record was not as bad as is suggested in the memoirs left by some professional soldiers. He gave good service at Belmont and Forts Donelson and Henry. Although his planned expedition against Vicksburg in October 1862 failed, he then turned to capture Arkansas Post in January 1863. Placed under Grant's command, he commanded XIII Corps during the siege of Vicksburg that spring.

Vain, selfish, and pompous, McClelland fought his war with an eye to the media. He issued vainglorious statements for the press after every action, victorious or not. Western professional soldiers loathed him, which made the conduct of co-ordinated operations very difficult.

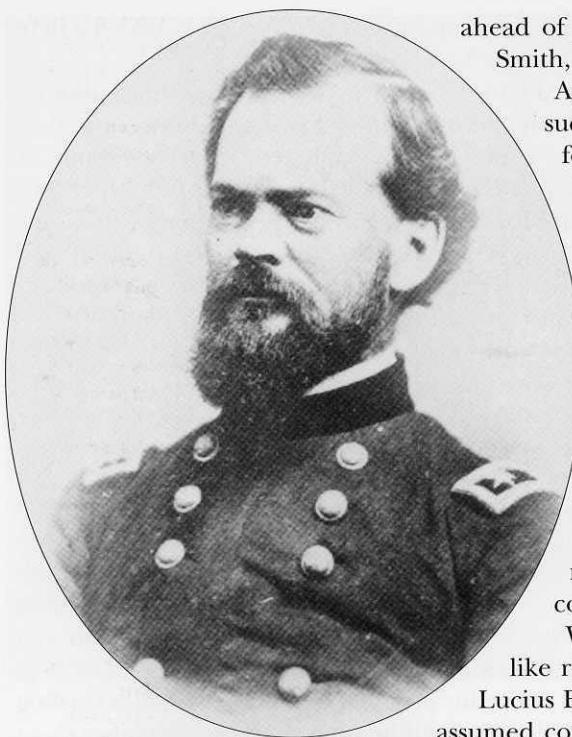
Sherman wrote in January 1863, "To me McClelland is one of the most objectionable [Union generals] because his master is Illinois and personal notoriety...." He would later write, "McClernand is an old politician who looks to self aggrandizement, and is not scrupulous of the means," adding still later, "McClernand is a dirty dog, consumed by a burning desire for personal renown." Indeed, according to Sherman, McClelland "shew[ed] the white feather at Shiloh...."

Grant also disliked McClelland, finding him "highly insubordinate." On 17 January 1863, Grant visited McClelland's headquarters: "It was here made evident to me that both the army and navy were so distrustful of McClelland's fitness to command that, while they would do all they could to insure success, this distrust was an element of weakness." Finally, after McClelland issued a statement to the press calling his men "the heroes of the campaign" after a disastrous attack on the Vicksburg lines, Grant relieved him.

McClernand was considered important enough by the Lincoln administration to be returned to duty as commander of XIII Corps in February 1864, when he served in the Red River campaign to the further damage of his reputation. Finally, falling ill, he resigned from the army on 30 November 1864. Returning to the Illinois state capital of Springfield, McClelland campaigned against Lincoln's re-election. He continued in Democratic politics until his death in Springfield on 20 September 1890. He is buried there.

McPHERSON, James Birdseye (1828-64)

James B. McPherson (see Plate D2) was born near Clyde, Ohio, on 14 November 1828. His blacksmith father, mentally unstable, was largely unable to support the family, so McPherson had to go to work at a young age. The owner of a local store where he found employment befriended the boy and made sure he received an education at the Norwalk Academy in Ohio. The merchant then got McPherson into West Point, where he was graduated first in the class of 1853,



James Birdseye McPherson, whose great promise was cut short in battle at the age of 35 years. After a difficult childhood he was graduated first in his class at West Point; appointed to the Engineers, as was usual for the Academy's star cadets, he nevertheless showed great gifts as a field commander – which was not so usual.

Brigadier-General Willard Warner later wrote that McPherson "had such noble beauty of form and countenance, such winning gentleness of expression and manner; his face, which in repose had an expression of almost womanly sweetness, would so light up and blaze with fiercest courage and daring in the moment of battle, that in danger he was worshipped as a hero; in quiet regarded in tenderest love as a man...."

(Military Images)

ahead of John Schofield, Philip Sheridan, Benjamin Franklin Smith, and John Bell Hood.

Appointed into the Corps of Engineers by virtue of his success, McPherson spent his pre-war career working on fortifications on both coasts, including those on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. When the war broke out he was named to Halleck's staff as an aide-de-camp; he subsequently joined Grant's staff, serving in 1862 as chief engineer during the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, the battle of Shiloh, and the move on Corinth. He also spent some time as superintendent of railroads in West Tennessee.

McPherson was strongly recommended for advancement by both Grant and Halleck – one of the few things upon which they did agree – and was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers on 19 August 1862. Two months later he was promoted to major-general, and in January 1863 he was assigned command of XVII Corps under Grant.

Western troops, used to informal discipline, did not like regular army officers, but some made an exemption – Lucius Barber of the 15th Illinois wrote: "When [McPherson] assumed command of the division, the boys were nearly all prejudiced against him as they were against all West Point graduates, but when we learned the many noble qualities that he possessed, our dislike changed into esteem and later, when we saw his matchless skill as a military leader, and above all, his great kindness to his soldiers to whose appeals for justice he never turned a deaf ear, our esteem amounted to almost veneration, and soon McPherson's name became synonymous with all that was good and noble – a perfect gentleman in every respect and every inch a soldier."

For his service in the Vicksburg campaign McPherson was named a brigadier-general in the regular army to date from 1 August 1863. He was given command of the Army of the Tennessee on 26 March 1864, and led it in the Atlanta campaign. Sherman sent McPherson to strike the rear of the retreating Confederate army at Snake Creek Gap, but his maneuvers there seemed too cautious for Sherman's taste, as the Confederates escaped. Even so, Sherman used McPherson's forces repeatedly to attack Confederate positions during the advance on Atlanta. While on this campaign McPherson became engaged to a woman from Baltimore and applied for leave to marry her, but Sherman, feeling that his presence was too important to be spared, refused this request.

On 22 July 1864, when the Confederates were attacking Sherman's positions around Atlanta in desperation, McPherson personally reconnoitered the lines. He and his staff came into a small clearing already occupied by a company from the 5th Confederate Regiment, which opened fire on the mounted party, and McPherson was killed. The Confederate company commander, Capt. Richard Beard, would write: "Even as he lay there, dressed in his Major General's uniform, his face in the dust, he was as magnificent a looking picture of manhood as I ever saw." Sherman was later reported as saying: "The army and



In this *Harper's Weekly* woodcut, James B. McPherson and two engineers on his staff inspect the lines before Vicksburg; McPherson holds a pocket compass. John Pope met McPherson in 1862 in St Louis: "He was as affectionate and gentle as a woman, but a man amongst men. Not only was his physique perfect, but he had intellect of the highest order and possessed the military *coup d'oeil* in a wonderful degree.... He was tall, graceful and very erect in person, with dark complexion and dark hair and eyes. He had a smile which irradiated his countenance like a sunbeam and lighted up the rather rugged features...."

country have sustained a great loss by the loss of McPherson. I had expected him to finish the war. Grant and I are likely to be killed, or set aside after some failure to meet popular expectation, and McPherson would have come into chief command at the right time to end the war. He had no enemies."

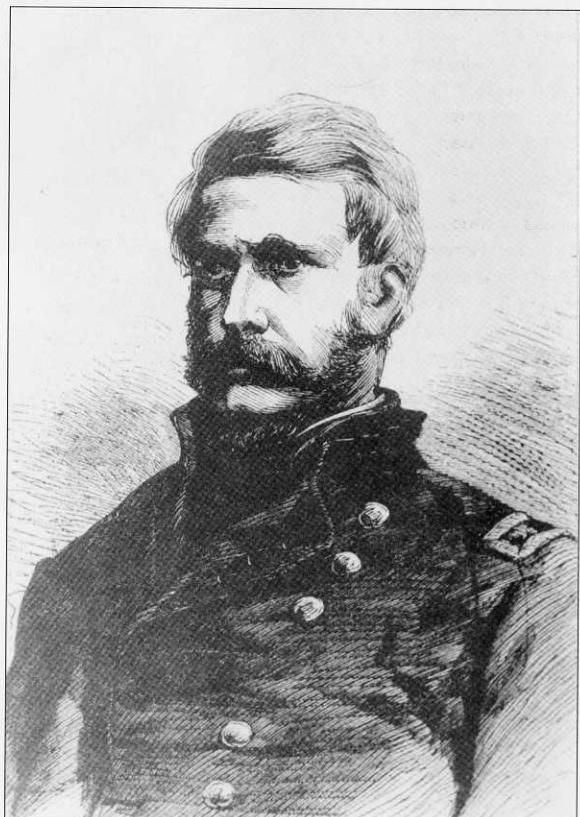
McPherson's body was returned to Ohio and buried near where he played as a boy.

ORD, Edward Otho Cresap (1818-83)

Edward O.C. Ord (see Plate D1) was born in Cumberland, Maryland, on 18 October 1818, and was raised in Washington. He was graduated from West Point 17th in the class of 1839, below Halleck but above the future Army of the Potomac artillery commander Henry Hunt. He was commissioned in the 3rd Artillery, and his first service was in Florida. In the Mexican War (1846-48) he was assigned to the garrison at Monterey, California. Thereafter he was on duty in the Pacific Northwest, being promoted captain in 1850. In 1859 he took part in the expedition that captured John Brown and put down his abortive slave rebellion at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Back in California when the Civil War broke out, he was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers on 14 September 1861, and ordered back East.

There were doubts that Ord might be too pro-slavery to fight well for the Union. He wrote to Sherman about these concerns: "There is no doubt of it, I was in 49 & until 54, a pro slavery man, and I am not quite such a radical now as to think we can turn all those black people loose

A *Harper's Weekly* woodcut of Edward O.C. Ord, made from a photograph. Apparently a courageous and competent officer, he figures little in the recorded impressions of his contemporaries.



among the whites, any more than we could so many tame Indians, with advantage to either race." Nonetheless, he was given command of a brigade in the defenses of Washington, seeing action at Dranesville. On 3 May 1862 he was appointed a major-general and sent to the Western theater.

Ord missed the battle of Iuka (19–20 September 1862) because of an acoustical fluke that caused him not to hear gunfire within several miles of him, but he performed well in attacking Earl Van Dorn's retreating Confederates several days later. Ord was wounded in this action and unable to return to duty until June 1863, when he was named to replace McCleernand in command of XIII Corps. The corps was sent to southern Louisiana after the surrender of Vicksburg. Ord was then transferred to command of XVIII Corps, part of the Army of the James, serving both in the Shenandoah Valley and in the attack upon the works around Richmond. There, in the capture of Fort Harrison on 29 September 1864, Ord was again badly wounded. Although he was not able to return to duty until January 1865 he was then given command of the Army of the James (replacing Benjamin Butler), along with command of the Department of North Carolina. Ord stayed with Grant's army, finishing the war at Appomattox.

After the war Ord became a brigadier-general in the regular army dating from 26 July 1866, serving in a number of posts before his retirement in 1881. On a ship bound from New York to Cuba in 1883 he came down with yellow fever, and died in Havana on 22 July. His body was returned to the United States, and he is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

OSTERHAUS, Peter Joseph (1823-1905)

Peter Osterhaus (see **Plate F1**) was born in Coblenz, Germany, on 4 January 1823. He was trained as an officer in the Prussian Army, but was one of those forced to flee after the failure of the liberal revolutions of 1848. Osterhaus came to the USA; after a period living in Illinois and working as a clerk he finally settled among the large German population of St Louis.

Osterhaus was commissioned major of a pro-Union Missouri battalion, and served in that capacity at Wilson's Creek in August 1861. After his unit was mustered out of service he became colonel of the 12th Missouri Infantry in December 1861. He was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers and commanded a division at the battle of Pea Ridge (7–8 March 1862). He also held a divisional command in the Vicksburg campaign, being wounded at Big Black River in May 1863. Returning to duty, Osterhaus served with that part of the Union army at Chattanooga that completely routed the Confederates on the southern end of Missionary Ridge (25 November

(continued on page 41)

Peter Joseph Osterhaus,
remembered mainly for being
a German officer forced to flee
his homeland in the aftermath
of the failed liberal uprisings
of 1848. He fought throughout
the war, rising from major to
major-general of volunteers,
and holding temporary command
of a corps under Sherman.
(Military Images)



1: Brigadier-General Samuel Curtis
2: Major-General John Frémont
3: Major-General John McClernand



1: Major-General Nathaniel Banks 2: Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant
3: Major-General Henry Halleck





LEFT TO RIGHT 1: Major-General William Rosecrans 2: Major-General Don Carlos Buell 3: Major-General Edward Canby

1: Major-General Edward Ord
2: Major-General
James McPherson
3: Major-General
Jefferson C. Davis





LEFT TO RIGHT 1: Major-General Oliver Howard 2: Major General William T. Sherman 3: Major-General Henry Slocum

1

3



1: Major-General Peter Osterhaus
2: Major-General John Schofield
3: Major-General George H. Thomas



1: Brigadier-General James Wilson 2: Colonel Benjamin Grierson 3: Brigadier-General Judson Kilpatrick



H

LEFT TO RIGHT 1: Major-General Alpheus Williams 2: Major-General John Logan 3: Major-General Francis Blair

1863). He was promoted to major-general on 23 July 1864 after further service in the Atlanta campaign. During the March to the Sea and then the March through the Carolinas (November 1864–March 1865) he had occasion to command XV Corps.

After the war Osterhaus returned to St Louis where he operated a wholesale hardware business. He also spent time in France, where he represented the USA as consul in Lyons, and served as a consul in Germany. He was placed on the regular army list as a retired brigadier-general on 17 March 1905, and died at Duisburg, Germany, on 2 January 1917. He is buried in Coblenz.

ROSECRANS, William Starke (1819–98)

William S. Rosecrans (see Plate C1) was born in Delaware County, Ohio, on 6 September 1819. At the age of 18 he was appointed to West Point through a direct application to the secretary of war, and was graduated fifth in the class of 1842, which also included many of the Confederacy's future generals such as George Washington Rains, D.H. Hill, Richard H. Anderson, Lafayette McLaws and James Longstreet, as well as the Union Army's John Pope. Rosecrans was nicknamed "Old Rosy" at West Point, a nickname which followed him throughout his life.

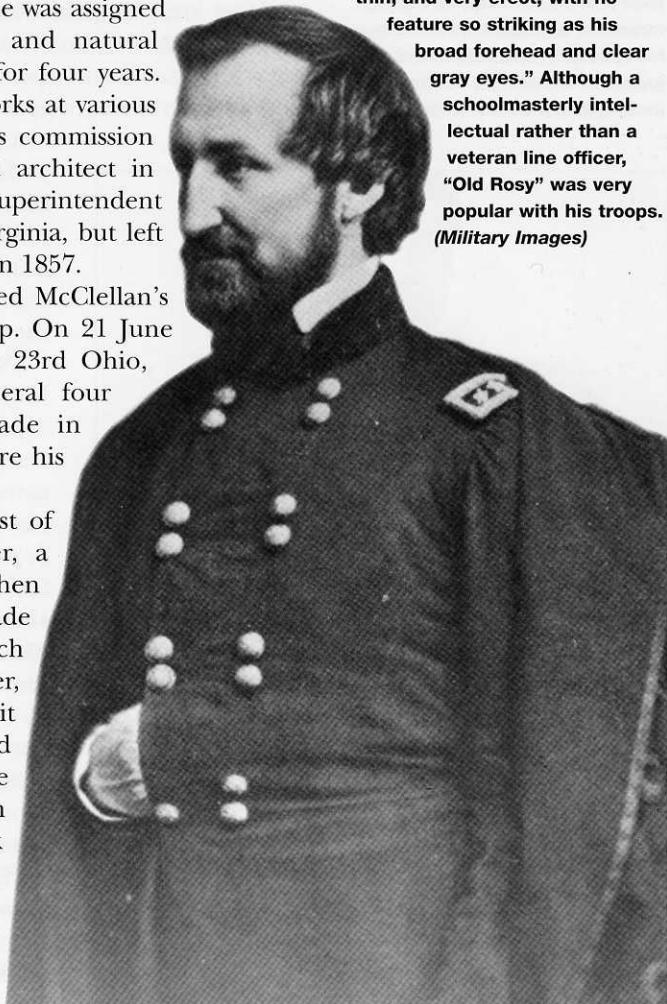
Married in 1843 to a native New Yorker, he was assigned to be assistant professor of engineering and natural philosophy at West Point, where he served for four years. He was then sent to oversee engineering works at various places along the east coast. He resigned his commission in 1853 and became a civil engineer and architect in Cincinnati, Ohio. Two years later he became superintendent of a coal company in Coal River, western Virginia, but left to go into the coal oil business in Cincinnati in 1857.

When the war broke out Rosecrans joined McClellan's staff as the chief engineer and aide-de-camp. On 21 June 1861 he was commissioned colonel of the 23rd Ohio, receiving his commission of brigadier-general four days later. He then commanded a brigade in McClellan's western Virginia campaign, where his name attracted public notice.

Rosecrans had a way of winning the trust of the common soldier. Constantin Grebner, a soldier in the 9th Ohio, recalled that when Rosecrans assumed command of his brigade he visited each company, "addressing to each a kind word and a quip, sometimes clever, sometimes not, but always apposite to the unit at hand.... General Rosecrans soon enjoyed increased trust with every last man of the corps." Major James Connolly wrote home in July 1863, "with Rosecrans to lead we think we can go anywhere in the confederacy."

He tended to get excited and stammer when in action. *New York Herald* correspondent William Shanks reported, "I have known him, when merely directing an

William Rosecrans was pictured when commanding troops in western Virginia. The September 1861 issue of *Harper's Weekly* included this description: "Socially the General unites to the refinement of the gentleman the frank, free-spoken manner so taking among our Western population. In person he is little above the middle height, rather thin, and very erect, with no feature so striking as his broad forehead and clear gray eyes." Although a schoolmasterly intellectual rather than a veteran line officer, "Old Rosy" was very popular with his troops. (Military Images)



orderly to carry a dispatch from one point to another, grow so excited, vehement, and incoherent as to utterly confound the messenger. In great danger as in small things, this nervousness incapacitated him from the intelligible direction of his officers or effective execution of his plans."

General Jacob Cox, who shared a tent with Rosecrans in West Virginia in 1861, wrote: "His impulsiveness was plain to all who approached him; his irritation quickly flashed out in words when he was crossed, and his social geniality would show itself in smiles and in almost caressing gestures when he was pleased. In discussing military questions he made free use of his theoretical knowledge, often quoted authorities and cited maxims of war, and compared the problem before him to analogous cases in military history. This did not go far enough to be pedantic and was full of lively intelligence; yet it did not impress me as that highest form of military insight and knowledge which solves the question before it upon its own merits, through a power of judgment and perception ripened and broadened by the mastery of principles which have ruled the great campaigns of the world. He was fond of conviviality, loved to banter good-humoredly with his staff officers and intimates, and was altogether an attractive and companionable man, with intellectual activity enough to make his society stimulating and full of lively discussion."

After West Virginia, Rosecrans was given command of the left wing of the Army of the Mississippi in the campaign that took Corinth after Shiloh. When Pope went East, Rosecrans took over his command, being named a major-general of volunteers from 21 March 1862. He did

not distinguish himself in the battles of Iuka and Corinth (September and October 1862), where his laxity frustrated Grant's plans for a double envelopment of Van Dorn's forces. He was sent to relieve Don Carlos Buell in Kentucky, this command now being named the Army of the Cumberland.

After fighting off Braxton Bragg at Murfreesboro (Stones River, 31 December 1862 – 3 January 1863), he fell back to a line along the Duck River. In June 1863, Rosecrans began a campaign of maneuver that ended up with his troops taking Chattanooga bloodlessly (7 September). The Confederates struck back at Chickamauga (19–20 September), battering the Union army: James Longstreet exploited a gap which Rosecrans' deployments had created in the Union center, and the day was saved largely by George H. Thomas' hard-fought defense. Nevertheless Rosecrans ended up besieged by Bragg in Chattanooga, with only a rugged mountain trail for resupply. Grant was sent to relieve him in October 1863.

Sherman compared the two generals: "Rosecrans may be Grant's superior in intellect, but not in sagacity, purity of character and singleness of purpose. Rosecrans is selfish & vainglorious. Grant not a bit so." Rosecrans left to

An impression of Rosecrans from Harper's Weekly when he was appointed commander of the Army of the Ohio. General Jacob Cox, his tentmate in West Virginia in 1861, wrote: "His general appearance was attractive. He was tall but not heavy, with the rather long head and countenance that is sometimes called Norman. His aquiline nose and bright eyes gave him an incisive expression, increased by rapid utterance in his speech, which was apt to grow hurried, almost to stammering, when he was excited."



command the Department of Missouri in 1864. His time after the war was spent largely on leave, awaiting orders; he finally resigned his regular army commission on 28 March 1867.

Newspaper correspondent Whitlaw Reid wrote that Rosecrans was "easy of access, utterly destitute of pretence, and thoroughly democratic in his ways. With his staff his manner was familiar and almost paternal; with private soldiers always kindly. In the field he was capable of immense labor; he seemed never to grow weary, and never to need sleep. Few officers have been more popular with their commands, or have inspired more confidence in the rank and file."

Brigadier-General John Beatty of his command recalled: "Rosecrans is of medium height and stout.... Rosecrans indulges in an oath now and then; but is a member of the Catholic Church in good standing.... Rosecrans is an educated officer, who has rubbed much against the world and has experience.... Rosecrans' laugh is not one of the free, open, hearty kind...." Beatty was another observer of Rosecrans' knack for making himself popular with his enlisted men: "On review, the other day, he saw a sergeant who had no haversack; calling the attention of the boys to it he said: 'This sergeant is without a haversack; he depends on you for food; don't give him a bite; let him starve.'" On the other hand, Sherman felt that Rosecrans surrounded himself "with a set of flunkies... pouring the oil of flattery that was sickening to all true men."

In 1868 Rosecrans became minister to Mexico, but he was removed from that office by President Grant a year later. He then retired to a ranch near Redondo Beach, California. He was elected to Congress from there, becoming chairman on military affairs and serving until 1885. From then until 1893 he was registrar of the Treasury. He died at his California ranch on 11 March 1898. Originally buried in Rosedale Cemetery, Los Angeles, his body was re-interred in Arlington National Cemetery in 1902.

SCHOFIELD, John McAllister (1831-1906)

John M.Schofield (see Plate F2) was born at Gerry, New York, on 29 September 1831, but taken as a youth to Illinois. He worked as a surveyor and a school teacher in Wisconsin before accepting an appointment to West Point, where he was graduated seventh in the class of 1853. After service in Florida he was appointed professor of physics at Washington University, St Louis, while on leave from the Army. On the outbreak of the war he was named mustering officer for Missouri.

As a major in the 1st Missouri Infantry, Schofield served on Nathaniel Lyon's staff at Wilson's Creek in August 1861. He was named brigadier-general of volunteers on 21 November, and given command of Missouri's Union militia. He led this force, formed as the Army of the

John M.Schofield. In the words of George W.Nichols, "At the first view of his round and well-developed head, his resolute mouth, and calm, reflective eyes, one is impressed with the idea that he is in the presence of a statesman rather than a soldier... ." At first Schofield did not demonstrate enough dash to gain Sherman's approval; but he entrusted this sober commander with the defence of Tennessee when he set off on his March to the Sea, and Schofield performed well during John Bell Hood's attempt on Nashville. (Military Images)



Frontier, from October 1862 until April 1863. He was named a major-general in November 1862, but was not confirmed by the Senate until he was appointed again on 12 May 1863. At that time Schofield was in command of a division of XIV Corps in Tennessee. From May 1863 until January 1864 he commanded the Department of the Missouri. In 1864 Sherman wrote to Halleck, "Schofield is also slow and leaves too much to others...."

However, during Sherman's March to the Sea in November–December 1864, Schofield was given command of the Army of the Ohio – also known as XXIII Corps – which was left to defend Tennessee. He maneuvered skilfully in the face of the Confederate advance on Nashville, and at Franklin (30 November) his troops repulsed John Bell Hood's head-on assaults with heavy loss, before withdrawing to Nashville. There his command took part in George H. Thomas' attack that essentially destroyed Hood's army. Thereafter Schofield was sent to North Carolina; here his forces made a separate advance from the coast to capture Wilmington on 22 February 1865, and then fanned out to take New Bern, Kinston, and Goldsboro before the war ended.

Brigadier-General Willard Warner later recalled, "General Schofield, though less widely known than either Sherman or Thomas, yet had the entire confidence and perfect respect of his own army, and of all who were competent to judge him, as a soldier of skill and courage, and as a pure patriot and just man."

George W. Nichols wrote: "General Schofield is a gentleman of fine address and elegant manners. There is nothing of the plausible sycophant either in his words or his actions. He listens well, talks but little, and appears to reflect and carefully weigh both what he hears and says... General Schofield not only possesses will and purpose, but he is perfectly versed in that technical knowledge of his profession without which will is almost valueless. While he may not be gifted with that dash and spirit which characterize other commanders, he has a calm assurance and a sober judgment which are never disturbed, even in the hour of repulse or disaster, and which is quick to seize the moment when success, wrung from doubt, carries victory."

After the war Schofield went to Texas to negotiate France's withdrawal from Mexico. He was named secretary of war in 1868, but soon resigned and served as superintendent of West Point from 1876 until 1881. He became general-in-chief of the Army in 1888, and retired in September 1895. He died in St Augustine, Florida, on 4 March 1906, and is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

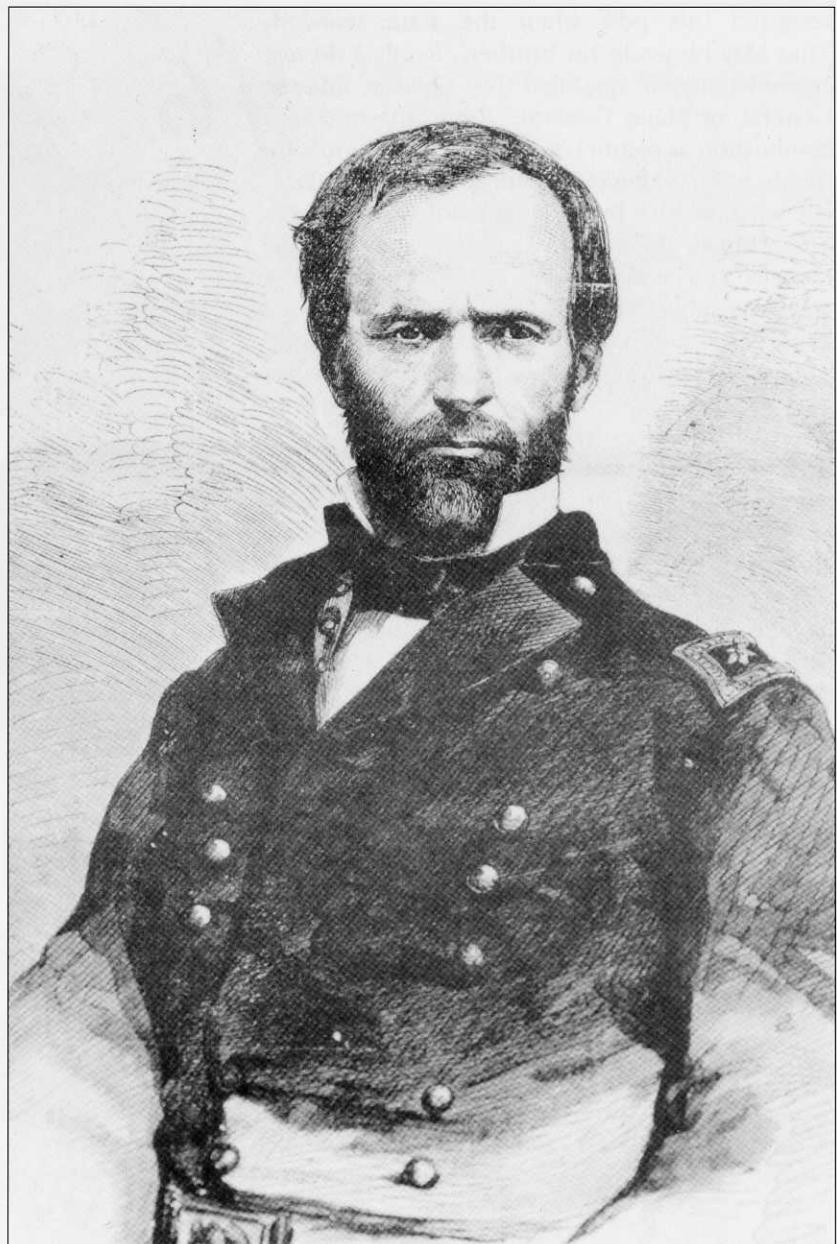
SHERMAN, William Tecumseh (1829-91)

Tecumseh Sherman (see Plate E2) – his baptismal name, given in honor of the famous Shawnee chief, though he had no Native American blood – was born in Lancaster, Ohio, on 8 February 1820, one of eleven children of a lawyer. His father died in 1829, and the boy was sent to be raised by Thomas Ewing, a US senator – whose daughter he would later marry, and whose wife had him rebaptized William.



A woodcut of Schofield from *Harper's Weekly* catches his calm and deliberate character.

William T. Sherman, in a *Harper's Weekly* woodcut made from a photograph. George Ward Nichols of his staff later wrote: "In person General Sherman is nearly six feet in height, with a wiry, muscular, and not ungraceful frame. His age is only forty-seven years, but his face is furrowed with deep lines, indicating care and profound thought.... His eyes are of a dark-brown color, and sharp and quick in expression. His forehead is broad and fair, sloping gently at the top of the head, which is covered with thick and light-brown hair, closely trimmed. His beard and moustache, of a sandy hue, are also closely cut."

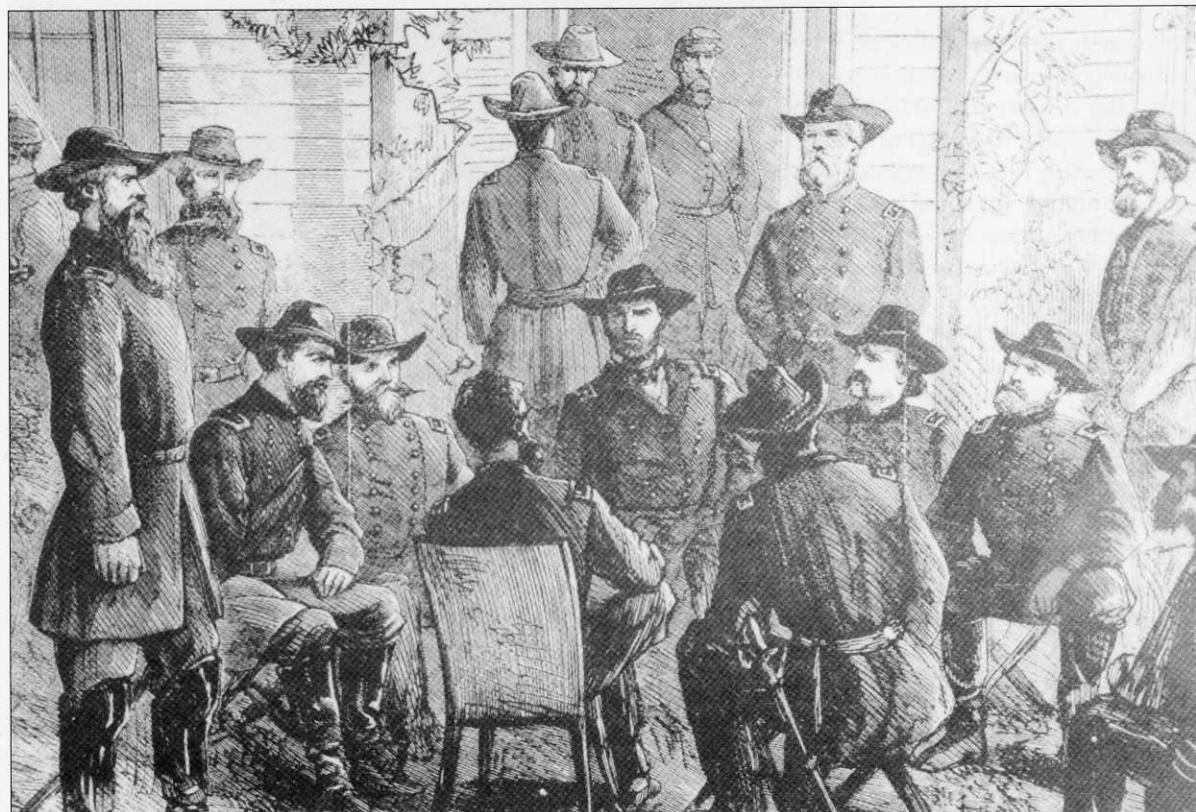
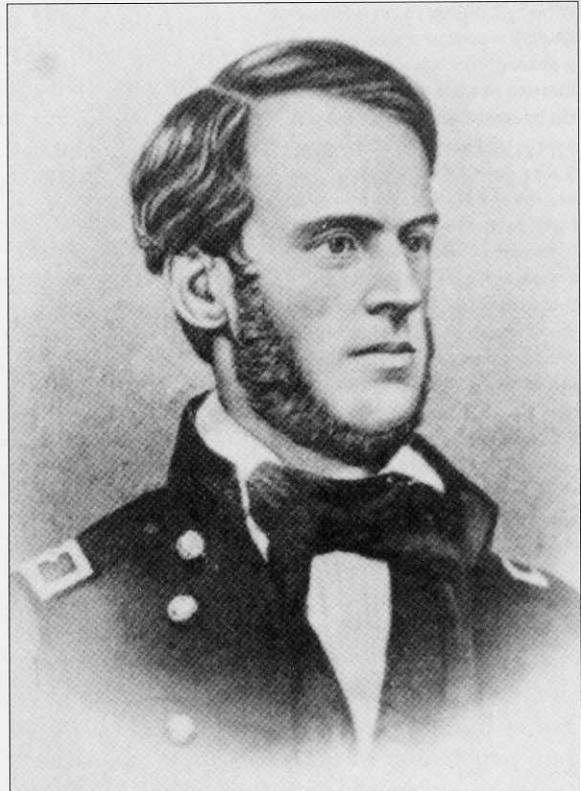


Ewing secured him a place at West Point, where he was graduated sixth in the class of 1840, along with George H. Thomas and Richard S. Ewell. Commissioned into the 3rd Artillery, Sherman was named acting adjutant general of the Department of California in May 1847. He served there until 1849, when he was named an aide-de-camp to Major-General P. F. Smith and acting adjutant general of the Pacific Division, which was headquartered at San Francisco. In 1850 he was made a captain and appointed commissary of subsistence in California. He resigned his commission in 1853, to take a post with a San Francisco bank.

When the Civil War broke out, Sherman was superintendent of the Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy; he

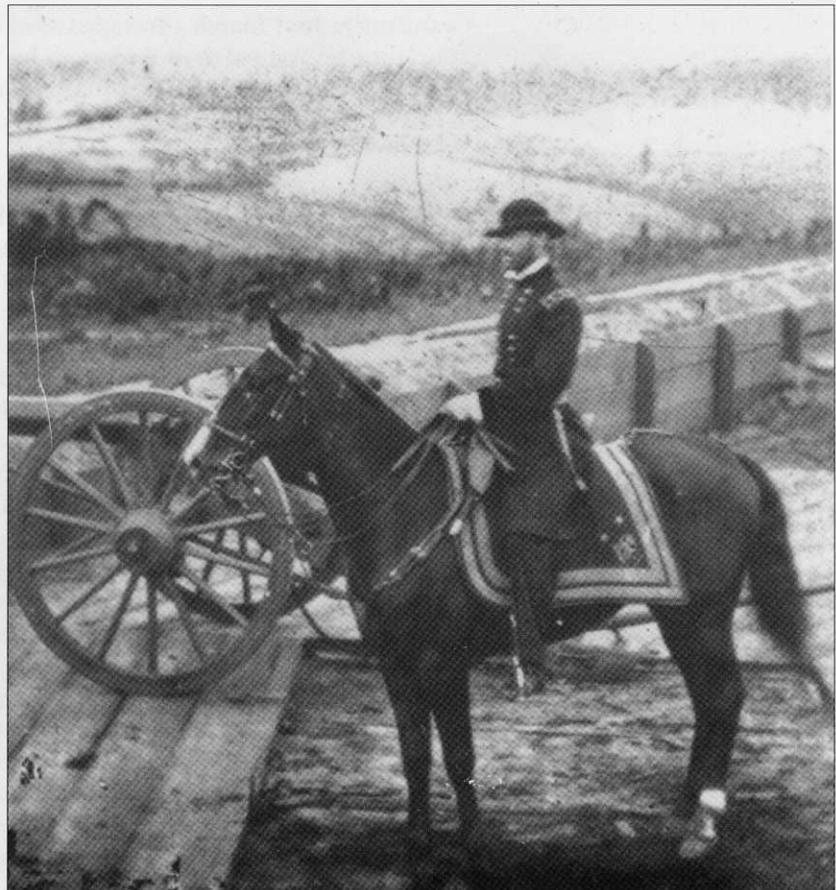
resigned this post when the state seceded. That May he wrote his brother, "Really I do not conceive myself qualified for Quarter Master General, or Major General." Returning to take a commission as colonel of the 13th US Infantry, he fought at First Manassas (Bull Run, 21 July 1861). He was named a brigadier-general of volunteers on 7 August, although five months later he again wrote to his brother, "I do not feel confident at all in Volunteers." He was sent to Kentucky, but his expressed opinion that it would take 200,000 men to put down the rebellion gave his peers the idea that he had become mentally unstable. These press reports led to a mistrust of the media that would last his lifetime. He was relieved by Don Carlos Buell, and was sent to join Halleck in St Louis. He commanded a division at Shiloh (6–7 April 1862), for which he was made a major-general ranking from 1 May. At this time he also developed a close working relationship with Grant.

In December 1862 Sherman led an unsuccessful drive on Chickasaw Bluffs north of Vicksburg; but he was given command of XV Corps in 1863, leading it during Grant's campaign



OPPOSITE An early war illustration of Sherman, interesting in that the features are shown unlined and not yet concealed by the mustache he later grew.

Sherman after having taken Atlanta, photographed on his horse Duke within the Confederate defenses of the city. (Military Images)



OPPOSITE Sherman holds a council of war with his generals. According to the caption in *Harper's Weekly*, "General Sherman holds his councils of war with himself. The different generals seem to listen rather than suggest. The General speaks his thoughts aloud, and the words uttered on this occasion disclose the movement that he has in his mind for some day in the future."

against that fortress which ended with its surrender that July. He then went with Grant to break up the siege of Chattanooga. As his troops were preparing, Sherman accompanied his family, who were staying with him, onto a river steamer; the family would go to Ohio, while Sherman would get off at Memphis. On board, Sherman noticed that his son Willy, who had been with him in San Francisco, was missing. A regular army officer found the boy and brought him on board, but soon Willy developed typhoid fever. The child died, and Sherman, who had remained in his marriage for the sake of his children, was devastated, blaming himself for the boy's death. Sherman wrote to his wife that October, "Why should I ever have taken them to that dread climate? It nearly kills me to think of it. Why was I not killed at Vicksburg and left Willy to grow up to care for you?"

After the battle of Lookout Mountain at Chattanooga (24 November 1863), Grant left the trusted "Cump" Sherman in charge of the Western theater when he went East to assume overall command of the Union armies, despite Sherman's delicate emotional condition. With overall command of George H. Thomas' Army of the Cumberland, James B. McPherson's Army of the Tennessee, and John M. Schofield's Army of the Ohio – some 100,000 men in all – Sherman fought a war of maneuver all the way to Atlanta, which he took (1 September 1864) after John B. Hood, given command of the city, had spent his forces in assaults. After chasing Hood's army west of Atlanta, Sherman convinced

Grant to let him march through Georgia to the Atlantic Ocean. This March to the Sea reached Savannah by 21 December, having inflicted great damage at minimal cost. Then he turned northward through the Carolinas, finally accepting the Confederate surrender near Durham, North Carolina.

Sherman was blunt in his speech. General John Geary wrote home that once, in Savannah, he attended church, and a priest asked his permission regarding a detail of the service: "After some 'heming and hawing,' the Clergyman said, well Genl, the diocess [sic] of Georgia requires us to pray for certain persons. Will that be objectionable, to which the Gen replied, yes, certainly, pray for Jeff Davis. Pray for Jeff Davis? Certainly pray for the Devil too. I don't know any two that require prayers more than they do, pray for them certainly."

Fellow general John Pope wrote of Sherman: "He is perhaps the most original and interesting talker in this country and has apparently inexhaustible stores of knowledge and experience on almost every subject to draw upon. It is not so much what he recounts as what he suggests that makes his conversation so entertaining and instructive." Staff officer George W. Nichols agreed: "General Sherman's memory is marvelous. The simplest incidents of friendly intercourse, the details of his campaigns, citations of events, dates, names, faces, remain fresh in his mind.... He is also remarkably observant, especially of the conduct and character of the officers of the army.... When the responsibilities of the hour are cast aside – and he throws them off with the utmost facility – he enters into the spirit of a merry-making with all the zest and appreciation of the jolliest of the party. He has a keen sense of wit and humor, and not infrequently he is the centre and life of the occasion.... He converses freely, yet he is reticent to the last degree, knowing how to keep his own counsel, and never betraying his purposes. He is cautious, and often suspicious.... His unmeasured scorn and contempt are visited upon pretense, spurious philanthropy, arrogance, self-conceit, or boasting....

"His constitution is iron.... In the field he retires early, but at midnight he may be found pacing in front of his tent, or sitting by the camp-fire smoking a cigar.... He falls asleep as easily and quickly as a little child – by the roadside, upon the wet ground, on the hard floor, or when a battle rages near him.... He has a keen sense of the beauty of nature, and never is happier than when his camp is pitched in some forest of lofty pines, where the wind sings through the tree-tops in melodious measure, and the feet are buried in the soft carpeting of spindles. He is the last one to complain when the table fare is reduced to beef and 'hard tack'...."

Newspaper correspondent Sylvanus Cadwallader later wrote of Sherman: "As a corps and department commander, Sherman had no superior when all the then circumstances and environments were taken into account. He was pre-eminently a man of action, and exhibited his greatest qualities in aggressive movements and campaigns. The impetuosity of his character was exemplified whenever he was in supreme command....

"He was never subjected to the test of a defensive campaign; but it is not probable that he could have equaled Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, had their positions been reversed. He would have chafed like a caged wild

beast, would have rushed into hopeless battle, would have risked too much upon the decision of one day's fighting. He was thoroughly subordinate and obedient to higher military authority, and enforced his favorite maxim, that 'the first duty of a soldier was obedience,' by obeying all orders in letter and spirit. This quality, perhaps above all others, endeared him to Gen. Grant. But he lacked Grant's superb equanimity. He often failed to control his temper."

In 1866 Sherman was named commander-in-chief of the army. He placed his headquarters in St Louis in 1874, disliking Washington politics. He retired on 8 February 1884, and moved to New York, where he died on 14 February 1891. He is buried in Cavalry Cemetery, St Louis.

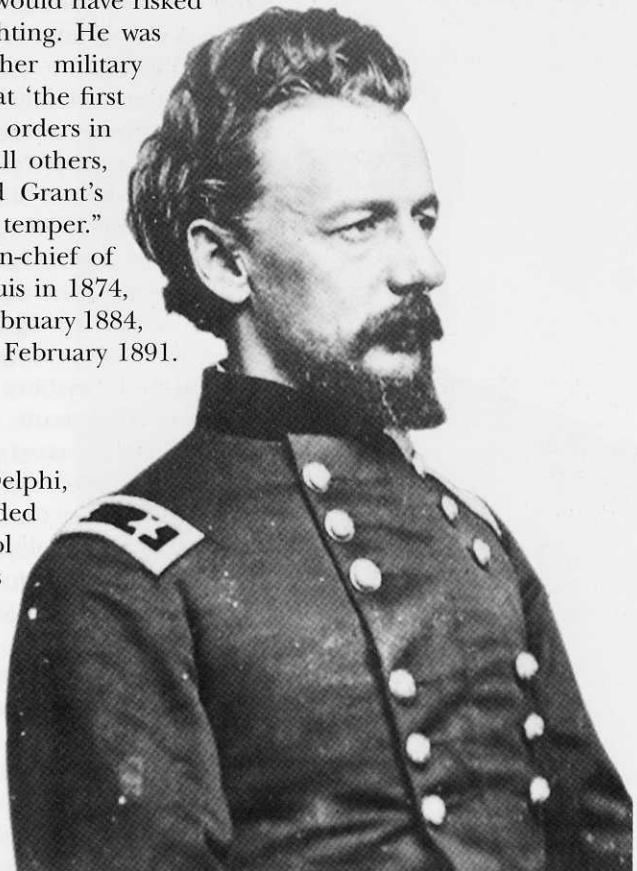
SLOCUM, Henry Warner (1827-94)

Henry W. Slocum (see Plate E3) was born at Delphi, New York, on 24 September 1827. He attended Cazenovia Seminary, thereafter teaching school until he was appointed to West Point. He was graduated seventh in the class of 1852, and saw service in the South until his resignation in 1856 to practice law. Returning to New York, he moved to Syracuse where he became county treasurer and was elected to the state legislature. He remained in touch with the military, serving as an instructor in the New York State Militia with the rank of colonel.

Slocum was named colonel of the 27th New York Infantry on 21 May 1861, and fought at First Manassas (Bull Run, 21 July 1861), where he was wounded. After recovering he was made a brigadier-general of volunteers and given command of a brigade in VI Corps. He soon became a divisional commander and was named major-general on 25 July 1862. He commanded the division throughout the Peninsula campaign, Second Manassas, and Antietam (June, August, and September 1862). Thereafter he was given command of XII Corps, which did not see service at Fredericksburg but was badly battered at Chancellorsville (1-6 May 1863). His corps held the extreme right flank of the Union army at Gettysburg (1-3 July 1863).

Both XI and XII Corps were sent West to serve at Chattanooga under Joseph Hooker's command. Slocum, being senior to Hooker, protested at this and sent in a letter of resignation. This was refused, but he was given an independent command defending the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad. From there he was sent to command the District of Vicksburg.

When McPherson was killed in July 1864, Howard took over the Army of the Tennessee, while Slocum was brought back to command XX Corps. For Sherman's March to the Sea through Georgia in winter 1864, Slocum was commander of XIV and XX Corps which made up Sherman's left wing – designated the Army of Georgia. Slocum had his detractors during the subsequent March through the Carolinas. Just outside Columbia, in February 1865, Thomas Osborne wrote home, "Slocum is doing nothing. The feeling of disgust toward him in this



Henry Warner Slocum. Staff officer George Nichols wrote:
"His personal appearance is prepossessing. Long, wavy brown hair, brushed back behind his ears, sparkling brown eyes, a heavy brown mustache, a height above the medium, and a manner which inspired faith and confidence, make up a most attractive figure." Not much liked as a personality, and attracting differing opinions as to his military talents, Slocum performed well at Bentonville in March 1865 when the left flank of Sherman's armies, guarded by Slocum's two-corps Army of Georgia, was surprised by A.S. Johnson's Confederate command. (Military Images)

Army [of the Tennessee] is giving way to bitterness. General Blair, who is a very prudent man, in speaking of officers, comments severely on him this P.M."

Then came the battle of Bentonville (19-20 March 1865), when the Union left was suddenly attacked by A.S. Johnson's Confederates. Slocum was a major player in this action, and Osborne changed his tune, writing home: "This battle has placed Slocum firm on the record and has now all to his support. It was his first great battle, and he fought it well. Since leaving Columbia he has more than ever shown a spirit of cordial co-operation and support. He acknowledges to General Blair, his chagrin at not having himself taken Columbia, and said he owed his failure to do so to his inability to bring the XIV A.C. up in time. I have always since Gettysburg had a strong prejudice against him. His peculiarities are unpleasant, and one is not apt to reform his prejudices in favor of an unpleasant man. He did well here, and I am glad of it."

Slocum resigned his commission on 28 September 1865. Returning to New York, after turning down a regular army colonel's commission, he moved to Brooklyn from where he was sent to the House of Representatives for three terms (1869-1873, 1883-1885). He died in Brooklyn on 14 April 1894, and is buried in Green-Wood Cemetery.

THOMAS, George Henry (1816-70)

George H. Thomas (see Plate F3) was born in Southampton County, Virginia, on 31 July 1816. Appointed to West Point, he was graduated 12th in the class of 1840. He was assigned to the 3rd Artillery, and saw action against the Seminoles and in the Mexican War (1846-48). He was breveted captain for gallant conduct at Monterey, and major for gallant and meritorious conduct at Buena Vista. In 1850 he was sent to West Point as instructor of artillery and cavalry. He received promotion to captain in 1853, but in 1855 was transferred to the 2nd Cavalry as a major. While serving with that regiment he was wounded in a skirmish on the Clear Fork of the Brazos River in August 1860.

When the Civil War began, Thomas broke with his family to stay loyal to the Union, despite an offer from Virginia's governor to become the state chief of ordnance (he and his sisters never spoke again). Thomas was promoted to colonel and given command of a brigade that served in the Shenandoah Valley during the First Manassas campaign (July 1861). One of the few from that command to be noticed, he was promoted brigadier-general of volunteers on 17 August and was sent to Kentucky to serve under Don Carlos Buell. There he won a decisive defensive battle at Mill Springs (19-20 January 1862); and then fought at Shiloh (6-7 April) in the Army of the Ohio. Thomas was promoted to major-general of volunteers ranking from 25 April, and went on to serve as a divisional commander at the siege of Corinth, at Perryville (8 October), and Murfreesboro (Stones River, 31 December 1862-3 January 1863).

Thomas' shining moment came at Chickamauga on 19 September 1863, when he stubbornly held a position at Horseshoe Ridge on the Union left while around him other Federal troops, including the overall commander William Rosecrans, fled back towards Chattanooga. Gaining the nickname "The Rock of Chickamauga," Thomas was rewarded with the rank of brigadier-general in the regular army on 27

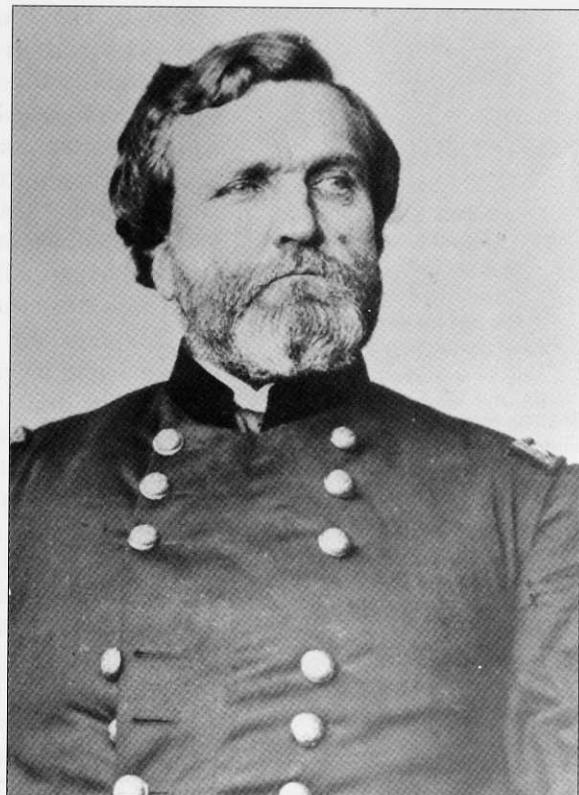
October. Rosecrans' army was besieged in Chattanooga when Grant arrived to exercise overall command of the Western theater. He ordered Hooker's two corps, which included Thomas' troops, to attack Confederate positions at Lookout Mountain (24 November 1863). Thomas' men were sent against a line of rifle pits at the bottom of the slopes; but once there they found their overlooked position untenable, and they pressed on up through the Confederate lines on the slopes to take the mountaintop itself, in what became known as "the battle above the clouds."

Thomas was given command of the Army of the Cumberland, which served in the Atlanta campaign. When Sherman got permission to cut loose and march through Georgia, he detached Thomas' command to defend Nashville. "I have again and again tried to impress on Thomas that we must assail & not defend," Sherman complained to Grant in June 1864, adding, "Thomas has a Head Quarter Camp in the Style of Halleck at Corinth. Every aid, & orderly with a wall tent and a Baggage train big enough for a Division. He promised to send it all back but the truth is every body there is allowed to do as he pleases...."

After being thrown back with terrible casualties at Franklin (30 November 1864) by John Schofield, John Bell Hood's Army of Tennessee besieged Thomas' troops in Nashville. Grant pressured Thomas to attack, but he waited for better weather, taking advantage of the time to better equip and organize his largely inexperienced troops. Finally, one step ahead of Grant's determination to go to Nashville and personally remove Thomas from command, he struck Hood's forces on 15 December, turning first his left and then both flanks in two days of fighting that saw the Army of Tennessee virtually destroyed – the only example of a large Civil War army being eliminated as the result of a single battle. After this triumph Thomas was also known as "The Sledge[hammer] of Nashville." Again, this resulted in his promotion, to major-general in the regular army.

One of his staff officers, Horace Porter, later wrote, "'Old Pap Thomas,' as we all loved to call him, was more of a father than a commander to the younger officers who served under his immediate command, and he possessed their warmest affections." Thomas was popular with all ranks; James Connolly wrote home after McPherson's death, "That is a severe loss, but his place can be filled; should we lose old father Thomas though, it would hurt us equal to the loss of an entire Division."

John Pope met Thomas during the fighting around Monterrey, Mexico, in 1846: "He was, as always, tall and stalwart, but in those days he had not put on the flesh which rather disfigured him in later years." Summing him up, Pope concluded, "He was great in defensive operations, and in no case was he ever driven from any position he



George H. Thomas, the hero of Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain and Nashville, whose loyalty to the Union cost him his family in Virginia. Major James Connolly described him when they arrived outside Atlanta as standing "like a noble old Roman, calm, soldierly, dignified; no trace of excitement about that old soldier who had ruled the storm at Chickamauga." (Military Images)

occupied. His mind seemed to work slowly, but the results of his deliberate thought were always sound, and what is more to the purpose as illustrating his character, he always maintained them with a persistency that might sometimes be called obstinacy.... I presume he had the natural ambition of the soldier who occupies high place and command in a great war, but if he did have it, he certainly never betrayed it to his closest observers.... He was utterly without arrogance or ostentation and easily approachable by persons of all ranks. His manner, while undemonstrative, was kind and considerate and when his troops began to know him they began to feel that confidence in his judgment and affection for his person which finally became an unreasonable passion which scarcely permitted criticism of anything he did or said."

Sylvanus Cadwallader, a newspaper correspondent at Grant's headquarters, later wrote that Grant lacked confidence in Thomas: "This was not so much a distrust of his soldierly qualifications and reliability in defensive operation, as fear that when he was left to act on his own responsibility he would be too slow in assuming the offensive. I think this estimate of Gen. Thomas will be considered just by future historians. He was unquestionably one of the greatest subordinate commanders the war produced, but he never distinguished himself unqualifiedly in any independent command." In this, of course, Cadwallader overlooks his destruction of Hood's Army of Tennessee at Nashville.

This was, however, the general opinion of Thomas. Sherman wrote to Halleck in 1864, "George Thomas, you know, is slow, but as true as

Thomas resting in the field during a campaign with his Army of the Cumberland; his troops adored this fatherly figure, and called him "Old Pap Thomas". Grant grew frustrated with his slow and deliberate preparations at Nashville, but when Thomas was finally ready for battle on 15 December 1864 he smashed John Bell Hood's Army of Tennessee in one of the most complete victories of the whole war. (Battles and Leaders of the Civil War)



steel..."; he later wrote that Thomas' characteristics were "steadiness, good order, and deliberation – nothing hasty or rash, but always safe, 'slow, and sure.'" Grant to Sherman on 21 January 1865: "He is possessed of excellent judgment, great coolness and honesty, but he is not good on a pursuit." His own soldiers often called him "Old Slow Trot."

Thomas remained in command of the Department of the Tennessee until 1867. For political reasons President Andrew Johnson wanted him to replace Grant as the Army's general-in-chief, but Thomas refused, and in 1869 was given command of the Division of the Pacific. He died at his San Francisco headquarters on 28 March 1870; and is buried in his wife's hometown of Troy, New York.

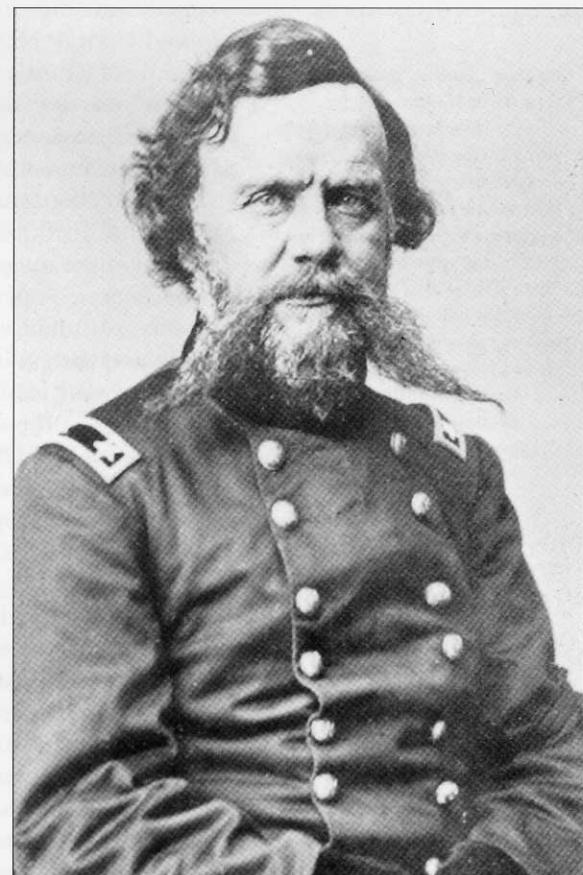
WILLIAMS, Alpheus Starkey (1810-78)

Alpheus S. Williams (see Plate H1) was born at Saybrook, Connecticut, on 20 September 1810. He was graduated from Yale University in 1831 and then studied law. He spent much time in both domestic and international travel, returning to open a law office in Detroit; he was also named a probate judge and owned a newspaper. In December 1847 he was elected lieutenant-colonel of the 1st Michigan Volunteers. The regiment was sent to Mexico, where Williams gained valuable field experience, but by then the major battles were over and the unit saw no combat before being discharged in July 1848. Williams stayed active in state military affairs, and at the outbreak of the Civil War he was a brigadier-general of state volunteers, serving as president of the state military board.

Williams quickly received a commission as a US brigadier-general of volunteers on 9 August 1861, and commanded a brigade under Nathaniel P. Banks during "Stonewall" Jackson's Valley campaign, and at Cedar Mountain (9 August). Banks' command was enlarged and named XII Corps of the Army of the Potomac, subsequently seeing service at Antietam (17 September 1862). There the corps commander was killed and Williams assumed command for a short time, until replaced by a regular army officer, Henry Slocum. After Gettysburg (1–3 July 1863) XII Corps was sent to Chattanooga, and Williams was given a division in XX Corps in the Army of the Cumberland.

At times Williams found himself in command of the corps during the Atlanta campaign, the March to the Sea, and the March through the Carolinas in winter 1864–spring 1865, but he was always soon replaced by a regular army officer. He was breveted major-general in 1866. Major-General John W. Geary, a divisional commander in Sherman's army, wrote to his wife in April 1865 that Williams did not get the corps command because he "proved unsatisfactory to Gen Sherman. [William T.] Ward & Williams both drink too much, and neither could be trusted."

Alpheus Starkey Williams,
whom George W. Nichols
described as "heavily built,
about the medium height,
with a large beard and still
larger mustache, which lends
a peculiar expression to the
face – an expression, however,
which is forgotten when the
genial, kindly eyes light up in
conversation." His reputation
as a heavy drinker was probably
what kept Williams from a
permanent corps command,
but he actually led XX Corps
for much of Sherman's final
campaigns, and was more
popular than the general he
replaced, Henry Slocum.
(Military Images)



However, Quartermaster William Le Duc noted that at the Grand Review in Washington after hostilities had ceased, "Williams, who had succeeded Slocum, was a great favorite with officers and men, and had ably commanded the Corps from Atlanta to North Carolina." George W. Nichols said of him, "A favorite with officers and men, he is delightfully hospitable, possesses an unfailing fund of good humor, is thoroughly subordinate, unenvious, unselfish, and as cool and self-possessed in the battle-field as at his quarters."

In 1866 Williams, out of the Army, was named minister to the Republic of Salvador, where he served until 1869. Returning to Michigan, he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1874 and 1876. He died while in Congress on 21 December 1878, and is buried in Elwood Cemetery, Detroit.

WILSON, James Harrison (1837-1925)

James H. Wilson (see Plate G1) – "Harry" to his friends – was born on 2 September 1837 at Shawneetown, Illinois. He first attended McKendree College in Illinois, but after a year switched to West Point. He was graduated sixth in the class of 1860, behind Horace Porter, one of Grant's senior aides, and before the future Confederate general Stephen D. Ramseur.

Assigned to the Corps of Topographical Engineers, Wilson spent most of the summer of 1861 recovering from cholera. After recovery he was picked as chief topographical engineer on the Port Royal expedition and then for the entire Department of the South. He joined George McClellan's staff for the Antietam campaign, and then moved to Grant's headquarters where he ended up as a lieutenant-colonel, serving as inspector general of the Army of the Tennessee and staff engineer; in this post he was reunited with an old friend, James McPherson. While there, he reported to Grant that his cavalry "were excellent material, but all untrained and badly deficient in discipline. In the advance they did well, but in the retreat they were entirely unmanageable.... The entire organization was lacking in coherence, co-operation, and steadiness." Grant was quite impressed by this confident young man, and on 30 October 1863 had him commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers, suggesting that he had "uncommon qualifications" for a cavalry command.

Wilson was thereafter a man marked out for advancement. Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana noted in 1863, "His leading idea is the idea of duty, and he applies it vigorously and often impatiently to others. In consequence he is unpopular among all those who like to live with little work. But he has remarkable talents and uncommon executive powers, and will be heard from hereafter." Continuing as a staff engineer even in his new rank, Wilson was finally sent to be chief of the cavalry bureau in Washington. There he proved to be an outstanding administrator, cleaning up shady buying practices and beginning a program to make sure that every cavalry regiment was armed with repeating carbines. Then Grant brought him to the Army of the Potomac; and on 7 April 1864 he was given command of the Third Division, Cavalry Corps, under Philip Sheridan – much to the annoyance of several officers senior to him. One of these, George Custer, opined that Wilson was an "imbecile."



Never before having held a command of any size, Wilson faced a learning experience when the Cavalry Corps took the lead in the drive to Petersburg and then against Jubal Early's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. His only independent action was a raid to break up the Richmond & Danville, Petersburg & Weldon, and Southside railroads south and west of Petersburg. After finishing this mission Wilson's division ran into a full infantry division supported by cavalry, and came close to being captured (Burke's Station & Ream's Station, 22–23 June 1864); he finally managed to escape, but with the loss of all his cannon, most of his wagons, and 900 men. One trooper of the 2nd Ohio later recalled that among the survivors, "Genl Wilson's name was a stench in their nostrils...."

Wilson continued in command, however, and his division was sent to the Shenandoah Valley, where it opened the successful battle of Opequon Creek (third battle of Winchester, 19 September 1864), and then fought again at Fisher's Hill (22 September). Grant then sent Wilson to the Military Division of the Mississippi to serve under Sherman. That commander later recalled: "General Grant, in designating General Wilson to command my cavalry, predicted that he would, by his personal activity, increase the effect of that arm 'fifty per cent,' and he advised that he should be sent south, to accomplish all that I proposed to do with the main army; but I had not so much faith in cavalry as he had, and preferred to adhere to my original intention of going myself with a complete force."

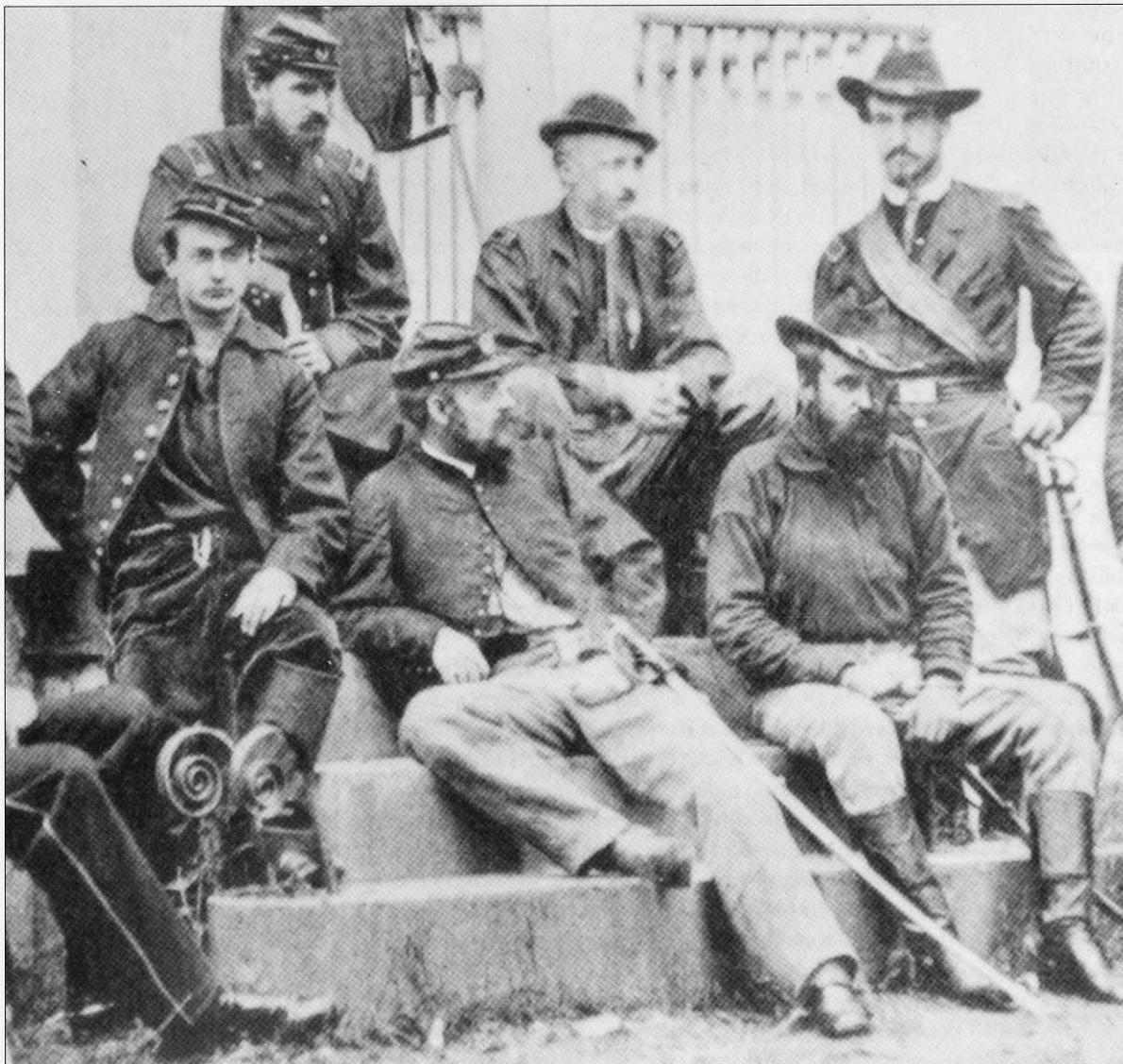
Wilson dismissed Sherman's cavalry chiefs, all of whom were superior to him on the regular army rank list, including George Stoneman and

James "Harry" Wilson, second right, photographed when a divisional commander in the Army of the Potomac's Cavalry Corps under Philip Sheridan, second left. Wilson wears sky-blue enlisted man's trousers, a waist-length single-breasted jacket, and a kepi with a dark band. This very plain outfit contrasts sharply with the fancy jacket and flowing shirt collar of Alfred T.A. Torbert, right, and the positively biblical appearance of David Gregg, left. (Military Images)

Benjamin Grierson. He formed their troops into the Cavalry Corps, Military Division of the Mississippi; and then organized, equipped, and drilled the cavalry that Judson Kilpatrick would later lead to the sea, while Wilson took command of another three-division cavalry corps in the Army of the Cumberland under George Thomas. At the battle of Nashville (15–16 December 1864) it was Wilson's troopers who swept up thousands of Hood's Confederate stragglers after their defeat.

After this action Wilson's men went into winter encampment; but times were hard, and supplies only reached his widely dispersed units slowly. On 29 January 1865, Wilson was greeted by cries of "Hard Tack! Hard Tack!" while riding through one of his camps. Never one to accept typical volunteer ideas of discipline, the young general made the men parade for eight hours in the cold to punish them. Another trooper, of the 27th Indiana Mounted Infantry, recalled: "General Wilson came to us from the army of the Potomac and brought with him much of the

Wilson – sitting on the second step with his leg drawn up – surrounded by his staff. Note their informality, and their mixture of regulation, non-regulation, and enlisted men's uniforms. (Military Images)



'grand review' style of that army; that of itself was enough to prejudice all Western soldiers against him, for if there was anything Western troopers did hate, it was anything that was done for mere style.... But added to this love of show, he seemed to study just how to keep every soldier in his whole army on duty every day... we had general orders from General Wilson read to us every morning, and upon almost every conceivable subject... just as though we had been in the service almost three years and yet did not know how to make ourselves comfortable and keep clean.... But after all was said and done, when we broke camp in the spring we were no better prepared for the campaign than when we went into camp." Wilson did, however, gain some approval by getting his troopers the latest Spencer repeating carbines to replace the odd assortment of inferior arms that they had previously carried.

In the spring of 1865, Wilson led his independent corps – more than 13,000 strong – in a raid designed to support Canby's campaign against Mobile, Alabama. He almost completely destroyed Nathan B. Forrest's command at Selma, Alabama (2 April), with his troopers assaulting the earthworks as infantry. Wilson then turned to raid through the South, destroying stores and factories, and riding without opposition through the streets of the Confederacy's first capital, Montgomery, Alabama. On 20 April he reached Macon, Georgia, where he learned that the Confederate armies under Robert E. Lee and Joseph Johnston had surrendered. Wilson's last raid was the most successful independent cavalry operation of the war; Confederate Maj. Gen. Richard Taylor noted that his "soldierly qualities are entitled to respect; for of all the Federal expeditions of which I have any knowledge, his was the best conducted." Moreover, at only 27, he was the youngest commander of an army in American military history.

Promoted a major-general of volunteers on 21 June 1865, Wilson reverted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the 35th US Infantry in 1866. Having clashed with the new President Andrew Johnson in Tennessee he was lucky to get even that; Johnson thought him only a "bumptious puppy." His actual service, however, was with the engineers. Wilson resigned in 1870 to move to Wilmington, Delaware, and entered the railroad business. In 1875 he had a falling-out with Grant as a result of the so-called "Whiskey Scandal" and the two refused to speak to each other again. Wilson visited China in 1885. In 1898, when war broke out with Spain over Cuba, Wilson – still only 61 – volunteered his services and was commissioned a major-general of volunteers. He saw service in Puerto Rico, and after hostilities ended was named military governor of Matanzas District, Cuba. While there his wife Ella was mortally injured when her clothing caught fire; Wilson then returned to the US and resigned his commission. He later returned to the service, however; and was named second in command of the American relief column that marched to Beijing during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. In 1901 he was placed on the retired list of the Army as a brigadier-general. Wilson represented the United States at the coronation of King Edward VII in London in 1902. He died in Wilmington on 23 February 1925, and is buried in the Old Swedes Churchyard there. Only three other Union generals outlived him.

THE PLATES

According to regulations, general officers were distinguished by knee-length, double-breasted, dark blue frock coats, with two rows of eight gilt buttons set in pairs for brigadier-generals and two rows of nine buttons in threes for major-generals. Standing collars and 'jampot' cuffs were faced with dark blue velvet, and the cuffs bore three small buttons at the rear, two on the facing and one above it. Rank was indicated by gold-edged transverse shoulder straps of black or dark blue velvet, bearing a single silver five-pointed star for a brigadier-general and two stars for a major-general. Trousers were plain dark blue, and were worn either over or tucked into black boots – high spurred riding boots with soft flapped tops reaching above the knee were favored on campaign. The general officers' regulation buff silk waist sash, with tasseled ends knotted on the left side, was often omitted in the field; likewise the dress sword belt, of gold lace stripes on red leather, was normally replaced by a plain black belt, the rectangular gilt buckle plate bearing the arms of the USA – the spread eagle and motto within an open-topped wreath. The regulation staff and field grade officers' sword had a brass (or gilt) pommel, knuckle-bow and guard, black leather grips bound with copper wire, and a blued steel scabbard with (gilt) brass fittings.

In fact, loose 'sack' coats resembling the soldiers' jackets were sometimes preferred over the frock coat for wear in the field, and broad-brimmed black slouch hats were preferred to the regulation French-style képi. These hats were normally dressed with double gold cords terminating in two 'acorns'; the regulation badge was a black oval narrowly edged with gold, bearing an open-topped gold oakleaf wreath surrounding 'U.S.' in silver Old English lettering. Personal choice also affected other details of field attire, such as swords. Observers quickly noticed one visible difference between Western and Eastern armies: the latter followed uniform regulations closely, while Western soldiers exercised greater freedom of choice, and generally looked a rough-and-tumble bunch of men. When XI and XII Corps were transferred from the Army of the Potomac to the West in 1863 they were jeered by Western troops as 'band box soldiers.' Their generals reflected this attitude in more informal dress than was worn by Eastern generals.

A1: Brigadier-General Samuel Curtis

A2: Major-General John Frémont

A3: Major-General John McCleernand

Samuel Curtis (A1), although graduated from West Point in 1831, spent little time in the army, and was unable to gain a regular commission again after commanding a regiment of Ohio volunteers in the Mexican War. As a brigadier-general of volunteers he was portrayed in full dress uniform, complete with the French-inspired feather-plumed *chapeaux-bras*, and massive gold bullion epaulettes bearing the single silver star of his rank. Note the black bow tie worn exposed at the front of the coat collar. His sword belt, with its circular clasp and chain link hangers, is non-regulation. Curtis was described as grave and undemonstrative in manner; nevertheless, he was noted for having a sentimental side, sometimes wandering by himself for hours looking for wildflowers. His long letters home describe exotic places and people he had seen in his travels.



The political appointee Nathaniel P. Banks may not have been much of a soldier, but he glories in the uniform of his rank; here he poses in full dress, including the epaulettes rarely seen worn by many infinitely better commanders. (Military Images)

John Frémont (A2) was known as "The Pathfinder," and gloried in the fame which he had acquired during his explorations of the Western plains. He first appeared at his Missouri command dressed as he had during the Mexican War in California, in a civilian Western outfit including a light grey broad-brimmed hat, a brown coat with a flowing collar of paler color, and fringed leather leggings.

John McCleernand (A3) was photographed in much less flamboyant regulation costume, although he, like Frémont, was a vain and self-important politician rather than a soldier. He wears a tall hat without a badge, and a plain frock coat without the regulation facings at collar and cuff. Like Frémont he is shown wearing the standard field belt and staff sword, without a buff sash.

B1: Major-General Nathaniel Banks**B2: Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant****B3: Major-General Henry Halleck**

Another Democratic Party politician given responsibilities far beyond his negligible military talents, Banks (**B1**) is shown posing in the uniform in which he often had himself photographed so that the voters back home could all see him as a bold warrior. Unlike most generals he wore the full dress sword belt and sash, and when in the field this stripped-down dress hat. Again, a broad black bow tie is worn outside the coat collar.

The image of Grant (**B2**) is taken partly from an accompanying photograph made shortly before the end of the war, in which he wears his short campaign coat open over a party buttoned vest, and does not appear to wear a necktie. His binoculars are among the effects now preserved in the Civil War Library and Museum, Philadelphia.

When the Army of the Potomac reached the lines around Petersburg, Grant replaced his frock coat. According to Horace Porter, "The weather had become so warm that the general and most of the staff had ordered thin, dark-blue flannel blouses to be sent to them to take the place of the heavy uniform coats which they had been wearing.... The general's blouse, like the others was of plain material, single-breasted, and had four regulation brass buttons in front. It was substantially the coat of a private soldier, with nothing to indicate the rank of an officer except the three gold [silver] stars of a lieutenant-general on the shoulder-straps. He wore at this time a turn-down white linen collar and small black 'butterfly' cravat which was hooked on to his front collar-button."

U.S. Grant – fourth from right – and his staff, photographed towards the end of the war; see Plate B2. (Military Images)

Sylvanus Cadwallader noted: "When standing his ordinary attitude was that of having his head and shoulders thrown forward till he had the appearance of being a trifle round-shouldered. He also had an inveterate habit of thrusting both hands into the pockets of his pants when walking about headquarters or camp, and usually had a cigar clenched between his teeth, whether smoking, or not. It will be seen that he was no military 'dude.'"

Although there were attempts to promote Halleck (**B3**) in the popular press as a bold battlefield leader, in fact this fussy, pedantic engineer looked more like the "book soldier" he actually was. *Harper's Weekly* for 9 August 1862 commented that he looked like "some oleaginous Methodist parson dressed in regimentals, with a wide, stiff-rimmed black felt hat sticking on the back of his head, at an acute angle to the ground..."

C1: Major-General William Rosecrans**C2: Major-General Don Carlos Buell****C3: Major-General Edward Canby**

Three generals who held independent Western commands, and showed some similarities of character as well as differences.

Rosecrans (**C1**), by background an engineer – like so many of West Point's leading talents – had impressive intellectual gifts that were not often demonstrated by decisive performance in the field; he did not distinguish himself at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, and thereafter was given no serious employment. A devout student of the Roman Catholic faith, he often held long discussions about religion with staff members and other interested parties. Nevertheless, in portraits he has a smiling and open expression, and witnesses testified to his easy and pleasant manner with the common soldiers. Newspaperman Whitlaw Reid described Rosecrans as "nearly six feet high, compact,



with little waste flesh, nervous and active in all his movements, from the dictation of a dispatch to the tearing and chewing of his inseparable companion, the cigar."

Buell (C2), who was replaced by Rosecrans at the head of the Army of the Ohio in October 1862, was also relieved of his command for being too conservative a fighter. Unlike the equally bookish Rosecrans, however, this gifted administrator was known for his reserved manner, and was a stern disciplinarian.

Although Canby (C3) had a poor record at West Point and was initially sent to the frontier as a young infantry officer, he won good opinions in the Mexican War and blossomed as a talented staff officer, well known for his deep study of military law. Here he carries a leather map case slung from his shoulder to hip, but it is as likely to contain a copy of Army Regulations as maps. A portrait – see page 10 – shows rather

"turtle-like" lines around the mouth and chin, large protruding ears, and eyes and a mouth capable of good humour.

D1: Major-General Edward Ord

D2: Major-General James McPherson

D3: Major-General Jefferson C. Davis

Ord (D1) was one of those soldiers who served well but never attracted much attention in the press, or seems to have made a strong impression on his contemporaries. A competent divisional and corps commander, he was twice wounded in action during the war. A portrait shows strong, rather heavy features, a jutting nose, greying brown hair, and a darker mustache growing into large sidewhiskers.

By contrast, the other two figures on this plate drew a great deal of attention, if for very different reasons. McPherson (D2) – whose death in action in July 1864



Sherman – Plate E2 – dictates a message in the field in this sketch from *Harper's Weekly*.

OPPOSITE Jefferson C. Davis, left – see Plate D3 – in his field headquarters tent with an aide, either a major or lieutenant-colonel. Note the paperwork crammed into the campaign desk. (Military Images)

prompted a sorrowing Sherman to write that he could have become general-in-chief of the armies – combined a brilliant mind with an attractive personality, which earned him the respect and trust of his superiors and the affection of his equals and subordinates.

Here he holds a small compass while examining siege works at Vicksburg; many generals, and all engineers (like McPherson), carried such compasses, which came in a variety of styles. Some had a small, flip-up pointer so the compass could also be used as a sundial to check one's pocket watch. His uniform is regulation apart from the shallow-crowned slouch hat.

Jefferson C. Davis (D3) – who must have regretted his name many times during the war, especially as he was suspected by some of Southern sympathies – wears completely regulation clothing, with the addition of this black and gold sword belt, and his binoculars. He shaved his upper cheeks but wore a heavy mustache and beard. We have illustrated him holding an M1860 Colt 0.44in. Army pattern revolver, one of which he had borrowed on 29 September 1862 to shoot his commanding officer, Maj.Gen. Nelson, in a hotel lobby in Louisville, Kentucky. The Colt Army was a favorite of mounted troops, while foot officers preferred the lighter M1851 0.36in. Colt Navy revolver.

E1: Major-General Oliver Howard

E2: Major-General William T. Sherman

E3: Major-General Henry Slocum

The devout O.O. Howard (E1) wears regulation general's uniform, but a portrait shows the empty right sleeve pinned up as shown here. Note how he also wears his coat buttoned to the left, with the lapels buttoned back, exposing

a blue vest with brass buttons, cut high at the neck over a stiff-collared white shirt and black bow tie. Many generals preferred to button the lapels back like this rather than wear the coat buttoned across all the way up to the collar.

One private in Sherman's (E2) army, Robert Strong from Illinois, saw the general as he inspected the front lines: "He had on an old slouch hat, pulled well down over his face to keep the rain off; wore a rubber blanket, high boots with spurs; and had a sword hanging at his side." The "gum blanket" illustrated is the standard Union soldier's issue; Sherman's slouch hat is preserved in the Smithsonian Institution. John Pope recalled his "lofty beak and bristling mustache... pleasant smile and kindly manner..."

Frank Haskell described Slocum (E3) at Gettysburg: "Slocum is small, rather spare, with black, straight hair and beard, which latter is unshaven and thin, large, full, quick, black eyes, white skin, sharp nose, wide cheek bones, and hollow cheeks and small chin. His movements are quick and angular, and he dresses with a sufficient degree of elegance."

One portrait photograph shows a spade-pointed beard low on the jawline leaving the upper part of the chin shaved. Here he wears the regulation dark blue képi, but decorated with black quarter-braiding.

F1: Major-General Peter Osterhaus

F2: Major-General John Schofield

F3: Major-General George H. Thomas

The German-born and -trained Osterhaus (F1) kneels to retrieve something from one of the trunks that – as a general officer – he was allowed to carry with him in the field. Sherman disliked his officers, even up to general rank, travelling with much camp equipage – something that he



complained George Thomas too often allowed. Still, generals did need to carry much beyond personal items, in the way of forms, maps, reports, and books. Most also carried mess kits containing plates, drinking vessels, and cutlery, often made of tinned iron. Osterhaus had reddish auburn hair, light blue eyes, and a pale complexion much marked by freckles. He wears regulation uniform, with a plain, unbraided képi.

Schofield (**F2**) was photographed with his sandy beard falling to the fifth coat button. He sits on the most common type of camp chair used by Union Army officers, a folding design which compressed fairly flat for stowing in headquarters wagons. (Some Union enlisted men reported that they never sat on a chair during the entire war, and it took the better part of years to get used to them again when they returned to civilian life).

Brigadier-General John Beatty noted that Thomas (**F3**) "is tall, heavy, sedate; whiskers and head grayish. Puts on less style... and is a modest, gentlemanly, reliable soldier." Despite his rather forbidding expression "Old Pap" was very popular with his men, who presumably recognized that his always deliberate preparations for battle saved lives. Here – against the background of a house used as the headquarters of his Army of the Cumberland – he examines a map carried in a black leather mapcase that is designed to roll up to protect the contents from weather. The Union Army was able to print multiple copies of the same map from plates that it could make in the field and print on traveling presses. This was a great advantage; all officers in any command could be confident that they were working from the same information.

G1: Brigadier-General James Wilson

G2: Colonel Benjamin Grierson

G3: Brigadier-General Judson Kilpatrick

These three figures depict the best-known cavalry commanders of the Western theater. Note that all three carry the French-inspired M1860 light cavalry saber.

Wilson (**G1**) was photographed in a uniform which from any distance would have been indistinguishable from that of one of his troopers: a képi with a black band and the general officers' badge; a plain dark blue short jacket – much as worn by many enlisted cavalrymen – with 12 small front buttons and three at the cuff, with his single silver star sewn directly to the shoulders; and enlisted men's sky-blue trousers with no stripes down the legs. This shows the evolution from a special dress for generals and other senior officers early in the war, to one that mimicked that worn by the fighting men – a deliberate attempt to prevent enemy sharpshooters from picking out these valuable targets. The young general is examining the Spencer repeating carbine which he managed to secure for his troops.

Grierson (**G2**) is shown here in the uniform of a colonel of cavalry, in which he won his fame leading a raid into Mississippi. The frock coat has two rows of nine buttons set evenly, and gold-edged shoulder straps in cavalry yellow bearing the silver eagle of his rank; the sky-blue trousers also have yellow trim. The plume in his slouch hat is probably taken from his regulation dress hat.

Kilpatrick (**G3**) wore a variety of uniforms, most of which were only slightly regulation. He was noted as wearing a slouch hat as well as the képi shown here, with its black quarter-braiding and silver star. Here, like Wilson, he displays



OPPOSITE **Hugh Judson Kilpatrick** – in an early war and entirely non-regulation uniform, before becoming a general.
(Military Images)

RIGHT **Francis Blair Jr** – Plate H3 – as pictured in *Harper's Weekly* on 17 August 1861, when he was still in colonel's uniform and had yet to grow his full beard.



his rank star sewn directly to his shoulders; on his other uniforms he wore shoulder straps, but they differed from the regulation style in having only a very narrow gold edge. He also liked to affect a tie stick-pin that featured a gilt prancing horse.

H1: Major-General Alpheus Williams

H2: Major-General John Logan

H3: Major-General Francis Blair

Depicted here with his trusty flask, Williams (H1) was known to take a drink or two from time to time. While there was a temperance movement in the country it was not yet strong, and heavy drinking was more a norm among all classes than something out of the ordinary.

Just before the war began the Army adopted a new staff and staff corps sword – a light, straight-bladed weapon with few good fighting qualities. By adopting this design the Army

admitted that generals and their staff officers were not expected to see much hand-to-hand combat. Few generals or their staffs wore this sword during the war; the fiery "Black Jack" Logan (H2) is shown here examining one rather dubiously. George W. Nichols wrote that no one who met Logan was likely to forget his striking appearance.

We depict Logan's less passionate but equally effective rival Blair (H3) as he checks his pocket watch. At this period there were no standard time zones, which would come later under pressure from railroads, and times were quite different from city to city, let alone from state to state. The times of events at Gettysburg, for example, recorded by the two opposing armies, were about a half hour different. This made co-ordination difficult, and everyone responsible for operations had to check constantly with both the army's time (officially kept within each regiment by its sergeant-major) and local times.

INDEX

Figures in **bold** refer to illustrations.

Army of the Ohio 8–9, 44
Army of the Potomac 18, 23–24, 25, 58
Army of the Tennessee 17–18, 24,
27, 30
Atlanta campaign, 1864 30, 47, 51, 53

Banks, Nathaniel Prentiss (1816–94)
B1, 4, 4–5, 5, 53, 58, 59
Beatty, Brigadier-General John 43, 62
Bentonville, battle of, 1865 50
Blair, Francis Preston, Jr (1821–75)
H3, 4, 5–7, 6, 7, 15, 50, 63, 63
Buell, Don Carlos (1818–98) **C2**, 7–10,
8, 9, 46, 60

Cadwallader, Sylvanus 48–49, 52
on Grant 17, 19, 19–20, 59
Canby, Edward Richard Sprigg **C3**, 10,
10–11, 60
Carolinas campaign, 1864–65 6, 13, 24,
26, 41, 48, 49
Cedar Mountain, battle of, 1862 5, 53
Chancellorsville, battle of, 1863 23, 49
Chattanooga, siege of, 1863 18, 24, 32,
42, 47, 49, 51
Chickamauga, battle of, 1863 13,
42, 50
Confederate forces, surrender of 18
Connolly, Major General James 9,
25–26, 41, 51, 51
Corinth, battle of, 1862 13, 17, 22,
42, 50
Curtis, Samuel Ryan (1805–66) **A1**, 11,
11–12, 58

Davis, Jefferson Columbus (1828–79)
D3, 3, 12, 12–14, 13, 61, 61

First Manassas (Bull Run), battle of,
1861 23, 46, 49
Fort Donelson, siege of, 1862 17, 27
Frémont, John Charles (1813–90) **A2**,
14, 14–16, 15, 21, 58

Geary, Major-General John W. 5, 48, 53
Gettysburg, battle of, 1863 24, 49
Grant, Ulysses Simpson (1822–85) **B2**,
3, 16, 16–20, 17, 18, 19, 42, 51, 59
on Blair 6
on Buell 9
on Canby 11
on Grierson 20
on Logan 27
on McClelland 28–29, 29
and McPherson 30
and Sherman 46–48
staff 4, 59
on Thomas 53
and Wilson 54, 57
Gregg, David 55
Grierson, Benjamin Henry
(1826–1911) **G2**, 20, 20–21, 62

Halleck, Henry Wagner (1815–72) **B3**,
5, 8, 17, 21, 21–23, 22, 30, 59
Hazen, William B. 3

Howard, Oliver Otis (1830–1909) **E1**,
3, 23, 23–25, 61
Hudson, Captain Peter T. 4

Kilpatrick, Hugh Judson (1836–81)
G3, 25, 25–27, 26, 62, 62–63

Lee, Robert Edward (1807–70) 18
Lincoln, Abraham (1809–65) 4, 15, 21
Logan, John Alexander (1826–86) **H2**,
3, 4, 27, 27–28, 28, 63
Lookout Mountain, battle of, 1863 18,
19, 47, 51

McClelland, John Alexander
(1812–90) **A3**, 28–29, 29, 58
McPherson, James Birdseye (1826–64)
D2, 24, 27, 29–31, 30, 31, 49, 60–61
maps 62
March to the Sea, 1864 6, 13, 14, 26,
41, 44, 48, 49, 53
Mexican War, 1846–48 7, 10, 11, 12, 14,
16–17, 21, 31, 50, 53
Mobile campaign, 1856 10, 20
Mower, Joseph Anthony (1827–70) 3
Murfreesboro campaign, 1862–63 13,
42, 50

Nashville, battle of, 1864 51, 56
Native-Americans 10–11
Nelson, Major General William
(1824–62) 13, 13
Nichols, George Ward
on Blair 6, 6
on Curtis 12
on Grant 4
on Howard 24
on Logan 27, 27, 63
on Schofield 43, 44
on Sherman 45, 48
on Slocum 49
on Williams 53

Ord, Edward Otho Cresap (1818–83)
D1, 31, 31–32, 60
Osborn, Thomas 24, 26
Osborne, Thomas 49–50, 50
Osterhaus, Peter Joseph (1823–1905)
F1, 32, 32, 41, 61–62

Pea Ridge, battle of, 1862 12, 13, 32
Perryville, battle of, 1862 8–9
political appointments 3–4
political careers
Banks 4, 5
Blair 6, 6–7
Curtis 11
Frémont 14, 15
Grant 18–19
Kilpatrick 26
Logan 27, 28
McClelland 28–29, 29
Rosecrans 43
Slocum 49, 50
Pope, John (1822–92)
on Buell 8, 9
on Frémont 14, 15–16
on Halleck 21, 22–23
on Logan 28

on McPherson 31
on Sherman 48, 61
on Thomas 51–52
Porter, Horace (1837–1921) 27, 51
on Grant 4, 16, 59

Rawlins, Brigadier General John Aaron
(1831–69) 4
Red River campaign, 1864 5, 29
Richmond, Grant's attack on, 1864 18
Rosecrans, William Starke (1819–98)
C1, 9, 41, 41–43, 42, 50, 59–60

Schofield, John McAllister (1831–1906)
F2, 43, 43–44, 44, 62
Shenandoah Valley campaign, 1862 5,
50, 53
Sherman, William Tecumseh (1829–91)
E2, 3, 44–49, 45, 46, 47, 60, 61, 61–62
on Banks 5
on Blair 7
on the Confederacy 20
on Davis 13
on Grant 17, 42
and Grierson 20
on Halleck 22
on Howard 24
on Logan 27
on McClelland 29, 29
and McPherson 30, 30–31, 61
on Rosecrans 42
on Schofield 44
on Thomas 51, 52–53
on Wilson 55
Shiloh, Battle of, 1862 8, 17, 46, 50
slaves and slavery 7, 8, 14, 15, 31–32
Slocum, Henry Warner (1827–94) **E3**,
3, 49, 49–50, 61
staff 4, 7, 28, 56, 59

Thomas, George Henry (1816–70) **F3**,
8, 50–53, 51, 52, 62
time 63
Torbert, Alfred T.A. 55

uniforms and dress **D2–3**, **E1**, **F1**, 56,
61, 62
cavalry **G**, 62–63
civilian **A2**, 58
coats and jackets **A3**, **B2**, **E1**, **G2**,
5, 28, 55, 58, 59, 61, 62
full dress **A1**, 58, 58
headgear **A2–3**, **B1**, **D2**, **E3**, **G2–3**,
17, 28, 55, 58, 59, 61, 62
trousers **G2**, 55, 58, 62

US Military Academy, West Point 3, 7,
10, 11, 16, 21, 23, 25, 29–30, 31, 41,
43, 45, 49, 50, 54

Vicksburg campaign, 1862–63 6, 17–18,
18, 27, 29, 32, 46–47

Western theater of operations 3
Wilderness, battle of the, 1864 18
Williams, Alpheus Starkey (1810–78)
H1, 53, 53–54, 63
Wilson, James Harrison (1837–1925)
G1, 20, 54–57, 55, 56, 62

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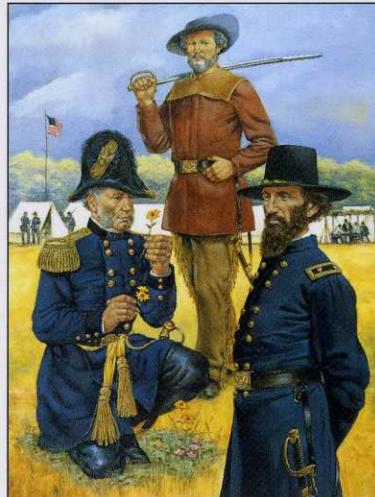
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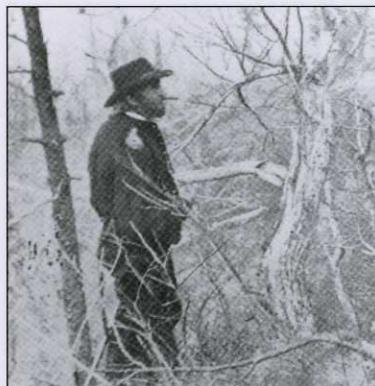
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